

"STUDY OF THE CAUSAL FACTORS AND
SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT OF EXCESSIVE SHYNESS, LACK
OF SELF-CONFIDENCE AND ALLIED CONDITIONS
AMONG CHILDREN."

BY

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CONTENTS.

	Page.
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter	
1. HISTORICAL	9
2. DATA AND METHODS OF PRESENT STUDY . .	23
3. CAUSAL FACTORS - GENERAL	31
4. HEREDITARY FACTORS	41
5. PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS	53
6. ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS	72
7. PHYSICAL FACTORS	127
8. SHYNESS AND INTELLIGENCE	131
9. CONCLUSION	147
APPENDIX	166

INTRODUCTION.

When I was just eight years old, I was asked by my father to deliver a book to a lecturer in a training college. I was then in a Practising School attached to this college and to us youngsters, the students and the lecturers with their strong bespectacled Principal represented a mightier world. We lived in great awe, specially of the Principal and his fellow lecturers and to enter this holy of the holies and on top of it to deliver a book to one of these mighty men, I thought, was expecting something which no one could do. But father was another mighty man and one had no courage to say "No" to him. During the morning interval I approached the sacred precincts with a beating heart and waited outside the lecturers' common room in the hope that this man would come out. He did not come and to my great joy I heard the school bell ringing, indicating that the interval was over. What a relief it was to hurry from that miserable place and be in my own class-room again! At home I explained to my father that I had not met the man. But he persisted and told me to try the next day. I again walked down to the same place, persuading myself that I must enter the room this time. On approaching the place, however, I found a big tall lecturer reclining on an arm-chair inside, right in front of the door! As if this was not enough to terrify anybody, I heard the merry laughter of these big men. A visual picture of a tiny boy standing and

muttering something in front of these rowdy men, was enough to make me retrace my steps to my class-room. At home father was disappointed, but he said he would give me a note which I could hand over along with the book. Well, that was something. At least, I was relieved of the terrifying task of talking to the great man. The third day arrived and I again anxiously waited outside, saying to myself that I would deliver both the book and the note as soon as the man came out of the room and have done with him and his wretched book. The great moment came and I passed both the the things to the big man. But consider my horror when the man looked down upon me and asked me what the book and the slip of paper meant! Since then I have learned that this paper contained nothing but the man's name and in a language, which I did not know then. Well, I thought, did not the letter explain everything? I had to explain as well as I could what it all meant and he was apparently satisfied and so was my father and that was the end of the story as far as they were concerned.

But nobody concerned himself about the agony I had experienced. Throughout my school career, I was considered an exemplary boy, always securing first rank. But it is not very long ago, since I was involved in a situation somewhat similar.

During my readings on the subject of shyness, while there were a few outstanding books dealing with the young delinquent, there was hardly any single book dealing exclusively with the shy child. As in other spheres of life, a clamorous child

has received the most attention. A quiet child attracts attention at home and outside only when his inner conflict drives him to a clash with authority. But in recent years, psychologists have pointed out that a dreamy, clinging and dependent child is as much of a problem as a daring young rogue who is involved in a daylight jewel burglary.

The indifference and the actual approval and encouragement of these withdrawing behaviour traits by adults, have been no small factors in causing children to adopt such attitudes, as the normal modes of meeting difficulties. Mr. Wickman in a recent study ¹⁾ has shown that teachers are not only more conscious of those behaviour problems among children which express violations of morality and defiance of authority, but that they also consider them more serious than the withdrawing behaviour traits like shyness, unsocialibility etc., among them. The opinion of a group of thirty clinicians, all actively engaged in the treatment of behaviour disorders in children was, however, quite the reverse of the teachers' opinion. The teachers stressed the importance of problems relating to sex, dishonesty, disobedience, disorderliness and failure to learn. For them, the problems that indicated withdrawing, recessive characteristics in children were of comparatively little significance. Mental hygienists, on the other hand, considered these forms of unsocial behaviour most serious and discounted the stress which the teachers laid on anti-social conduct. They came to

1) "Children's Behaviour and Teacher's Attitudes," by E.K. Wickman, 1929.

this conclusion after considering the effect of a child's behaviour upon his future happiness, success and general welfare after leaving school and entering adult social and industrial life.

In the same study, the writer also found out that the attitude of the teachers towards the attacking types of behaviour was to counter-attack it and in the case of withdrawing types of behaviour to tolerate and sympathise with it. Now it must be remembered that by attacking tendencies is meant antagonism towards authority and by withdrawing tendencies an excessive submission towards authority. It follows, therefore, that in the words of Wickman, "By counter-attacking the attacking types of problems, and by indulging the withdrawing types, the underlying difficulties of adjustment in each case are increased and the undesirable expressions of social behaviour are further entrenched."¹⁾ One of the most important factors, therefore, which reinforces the child's withdrawing attitude is its toleration by the adults who have to do most with him.

In the above discussion a distinction has been made between the attacking and the withdrawing types of behaviour. Wickman from whom this distinction has been borrowed, himself acknowledges that it is psychologically unsound to make it; for both types represent individual responses to the same kind of situation - namely an inability to meet social requirements. The distinction, however, is justified by the different social attitudes

1) pp. 171.

towards these two modes of meeting difficulties; and also although both modes of behaviour are found among most individuals, there is generally a tendency in problem children with whom we are dealing now to respond characteristically by attack or withdrawal. On page 6 is reproduced from Wickman's book, a diagram of behaviour problems conceived as evasions of social requirements. It is with "Evasions of Requirements by Withdrawal" that we have to deal in the present thesis. In table 1, I have shown the number of times a particular behaviour pattern was found among our 60 shy children. The various terms have not been used in any exact scientific sense, but are just popular words and represent the most pronounced aspects of the withdrawing attitude of the 60 children. This table shows what Wickman had already pointed out that the two modes of evading social requirements are not mutually exclusive. Impatience, independence and disobedience are, strictly speaking, more the attacking types of behaviour than the withdrawing ones. One only child in our study, Dorothy (7 : 4)¹⁾ about whom we shall know more in the body of this thesis, along with her day-dreaming, shyness, unsociability, and lack of self-confidence, showed some remarkable independence in her behaviour. She comes from a well-to-do home. While out with her mother, she would sometimes pay the 'bus fares for mother and herself, as mother does sometimes for herself and her daughter. When taking tea in a restaurant, she would keep a tip for the waitress

1) Throughout the thesis, these figures represent age of the child in years and months.

DIAGRAM OF BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS CONCEIVED AS EVASIONS

OF SOCIAL REQUIREMENTS.

FROM WICKMAN.

EVASIONS OF REQUIREMENTS BY WITHDRAWAL	REQUIREMENTS IMPOSED BY SOCIAL FORCES ON INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR	EVASIONS OF REQUIREMENTS BY ATTACK
Fearfulness	Requirements for Child Behavior Imposed by Family, Neighbourhood, Companions, School	Temper Tantrums
Sulkiness		Disobedience
Dreaminess		Overactivity
Shyness		Aggressiveness
Dependency on Adults		Defiance to authority
Cowardliness		Fighting
Unsocialness		Delinquency
Dependency on routine		Rejection of routine
Pedantry		Pursuing own methods of work
Solitariness		Wanting to direct
Fear of criticism	Requirements for Adult Behavior Established by Social Institutions, Traditions, Customs, the Law.	Breaking conventions
Suspiciousness		Antagonistic attitudes
Inability to carry Responsibility		Exploitation of own authority
Inefficiency		Contentiousness
Social Inadequacy		Egocentricity

REGRESSIVE
ESCAPES

RETREATS
INTO
PRODUCTIVE
ACTIVITY

Neurotic Complaints	Invention
Economic de- pendency	Research
Alcoholism	Science
Drug addit- ion	Literature
Functional Insanity	Art
Suicide	

CONSTRUCT-
IVE
ATTACKS

Competitive
Sports
Exploration
Industrial
Exploits
Social and
Political
Reforms

DESTRUCT-
IVE
ATTACKS

"Psychopathic
Tendencies
"
"I won't work
Crime

Table 1 showing the number of times various withdrawing and other behaviour traits, were found among 60 subjects.

1.	Shyness	45
2.	Unsocialability	23
3.	Dependency on adults	15
4.	Lack of Self-Confidence	10
5.	Quietness ¹⁾	9
6.	Fearfulness and nervousness	9
7.	Dreaminess	8
8.	Sensitiveness	5
9.	Timidity	4
10.	Peevishness	1
11.	Sullenness	1
12.	Independence	5
13.	Obstinacy	2
14.	Impatience	1
15.	Disobedience	1

- 1.) Includes four children who in spite of being in Nursery Schools for nearly a year, have spoken very little to other children and not at all to their teachers.

from her own pocket-money and if she borrowed any pennies from her mother, while out, she would remember to pay them back, when she returned home. Instances of children who are defiant at home and absolutely passive in school are also familiar to everybody. But all my 60 subjects for this thesis were selected because they showed one or other of the withdrawing behaviour traits in an excessive degree. Children whose shyness was temporary and due to the newness of the surroundings of the Nursery School are not included in this study.

In this study I have to deal not only with the causal factors but also the subsequent development of excessive shyness etc. For a proper treatment of the latter aspect, this study should be prolonged for at least 10 to 15 years, to watch the development of the personality of a shy child from the age of 2 to 3 years. As this was, of course, not possible, I have tried to gauge the alternative possibilities of development of my shy children from the available data. I have also discussed as to how far the knowledge available from the developmental history of some children is applicable in the case of other children. At the end of each chapter dealing with causal factors, I have put in a section dealing with the subsequent development of problems discussed in that chapter. In the last chapter, I have brought together the various points that have issued from such discussions and have tried to give a general account of the subsequent development of excessive shyness and allied conditions.

CHAPTER I. HISTORICAL.

The public and scientific interest in the study of the child might be said to have started with the publication of Jean Jacques Rousseau's "Emile" in 1762. A recent writer considers this book as "the only modern work of the kind worthy to be put alongside the 'Republic of Plato'" ¹⁾ and yet on its publication it was publicly burned by the order of the Parliament of Paris and its author was hunted out of France, Switzerland and Neuchatel, till he found refuge in England. On the appearance of the book Rousseau was flooded with correspondence, both for and against it. The Duke of Wirtemberg, for example, wrote to him in 1763, "Every morning we bathe the little one in the coldest spring water and after drying her lightly we leave her naked a good part of the morning . . . We never put any covering on her head, and she wears neither gloves nor stockings."

The interest aroused by Rousseau was followed by Pestalozzi ²⁾ (1774) and Tiedman (1787). The latter was a German and he was the first to make a systematic observation of the mental development of the child. Other writers followed, like Perez (1787), Froebel (1826) and Darwin (1877). But it was only on the publication of Preyer's work "The Mind of the Child" (1881) that there arose the fashion on the part of parents, of keeping

1) William Boyd's "Educational Theory of J.J. Rousseau".

2) This and the following dates signify the year in which their chief books on Child Education were published.

diaries of the development of their children. Among these the most exhaustive perhaps was Miss Shinn's "Notes on the Development of a Child" (1893-1907); There followed Baldwin's "Mental Development in the Child and the Race", (1895), Professor Sully's "Studies of Childhood" (1896) and Chamberlain's "The Child, a Study in the Evolution of Man" (1900). In 1891, Stanley Hall who had just returned from Germany after his studies, started a paper called the "Pedagogical Seminary" and in 1893 founded "The National Association for the Study of Children."

The methods adopted by the above writers were mainly two - Observation and Questionnaire. Very minute observations of individual children were made in their homes. Stanley Hall and his school, on the other hand, drew up voluminous questions and asked for information on a particular problem from the parents. The fault of their writings was that they were too tedious to read, for they dealt with both relevant and irrelevant matter. Moreover they were mainly descriptive and too much was left to the critical ability and interpretation of the student. Also there were a number of philosophical remarks interspersed now and again, which spoiled the scientific value of their writings. Further, as these books mostly dealt with individual children it was not possible to know how far a particular trait observed, was general and how far only individual. For example, Shinn spends many pages on describing how the child under her observation used to cry on waking

up and we now know that it is a common occurrence. Of course now and again these writers stated many truths, but could not always give any adequate explanation for them. How their observations of single/^{children} led them into serious mistakes is shown by an example from Shinn. On page 291, the writer says "Mother as source of food does not record herself in the baby's nervous system in any such manner, to my observation, as the mother as companion and refuge in the valley of the shadow of sleep." This emphasis on mother as a refuge in difficulty is over mother as source of food, is most arbitrary, and although it might be applicable in the case of one child in one situation, it is not true for all children under all circumstances.

The interest in the psychology of the problem child, however, with whom we are concerned in the present study is a development that has taken place in this century only. These early writers were mainly concerned with the psychology of individual yet normal children. We shall now briefly review their ideas on those aspects of child-life which are of interest to us in the present study.

First we take the question of social development. In his discussion of shyness in adolescence, Stanley Hall rightly said that the social fears increased during that period. Among the reasons he gave for this, he mentioned, horror of mediocrity, disappointed hunger for praise, wounded vanity, reaction from over-assertion or the nursing of some high ideal. He also said that some adolescents might be so impressed by

the superiority of all who had confident manners that they were speechless in their presence.

1)

Darwin, writing about blushing, said that it was due to self-attention being directed to personal appearance in relation to opinions of others. About blushing in children, he wrote "Children at a very early age do not blush, nor do they show any signs of self-consciousness which generally accompany blushing; and it is one of their chief charms that they think nothing about what others think of them. At this early age, they will stare at a stranger with a fixed gaze and unblinking eyes, as on an inanimate object, in a manner which we elders cannot imitate." It is important to note in the above passage that Darwin was referring only to self-consciousness and that also among very small children, say below $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 years in age. But although such small children may not be self-conscious and therefore shy, yet as our present study shows, they may be quite unsocial. Darwin's account of shyness was mostly introspective and it did not go very deep. He attributed it, to our sensitiveness with regard to the opinions of others about our appearance and conduct, but he did not tell us why we were sensitive like that or why some people more sensitive than others.

Sully showed how a child progressed from being egotistical to social, through contacts with the outside world.

1) "Expression of Emotions".

1)

Baldwin distinguished three epochs or periods of bashfulness among children. The first he called the period of Primary or Organic bashfulness. This occurred in the first year and marked the attitude of the infant towards strangers. It took the positive signs of fear, with protestation, crying, shrinking etc., and was largely provided for in the nervous equipment of child at this stage. One may doubt this connection with the nervous system, but Baldwin rightly said that the duration of this bashfulness depended on child's social environment. He emphasized that one of the most important elements in the child's progress, out of its organic social life, was the degree and variety of its intercourse with other children, and indeed also with other adults than those of its own home. Children kept in extreme isolation from strangers, young or old, might show extraordinary paralysis of all motor functions. Speaking about the part which imitation of other children played in this progress, Baldwin said, "Imitation presents to the imitative child an example or 'copy' which tends to bring out his actions in definite ways earlier than his own organic growth would in itself have warranted." One might take it that by this Baldwin meant that the company of other children gave sufficient confidence to the little child to learn things like walking, standing etc., soon after the proper development of his nervous system had taken place. Baldwin's second period of bashfulness was marked by a strong social tendency in the

1) "Mental Development in Child and Race."

child, of toleration of strangers and liking for persons generally. It was due in all likelihood to the actual experience of the child in receiving kind treatment from strangers.

In the second and third years, bashfulness in its proper sense, free of any element of fear and compelling organic force, returned. This was marked by the development of self consciousness and the child's means of freeing himself from "instinctive" or "organic" bashfulness, were all social. "How can character-schemes be grown into, if the regularity of the child's life is of so narrow a scope that all the threads of his social relationship run the same way and no triangles and confusions arise to bring out his own strenuous action and his rebellions against his native reflex ways of behaviour." This sense of "self-agency" tied down to the agency of other people like self - this real reflective relation of self to others constituted the third and crowning stage of bashfulness in Baldwin's scheme.

There are no data for assuming the period of Spontaneous Cooperation which according to Baldwin precedes Reflective Cooperation. It was also left to present day writers to explain the primary hostility of the child to strangers. But Baldwin's theories are important, for he emphasised the part played in the social development of the child by the company of other children.

Fear is another subject on which these early writers wrote a great deal and which is of some value to us in our present

study.

The most important theory held by these writers was the evolutionary one and fears of darkness, shadows, irregular forms, fire, animals etc., were explained by a reference to the prehistoric times. In Haeckel's famous phrase, ontogeny repeats phylogony, the development of the individual repeats the development of the race. Goethe and Darwin, and James, Stanley Hall, Jung and his followers in modern times have been the propagandists of this same idea in one form or another. Darwin explained the fear of a sudden sound in the case of his fortnight old child and the fear of an object suddenly seen when the same child was 60 days old, as follows:

"Vague but very real fears of children which are quite independent of experience are inherited effects of real dangers and abject superstitions during ancient savage times."¹⁾ Jung has

also distinguished between the personal and impersonal or Collective unconscious of an individual. The latter is a racial possession, common to all and is not acquired during the life-time. In severe cases of psychosis and neurosis, the patients show in their symptoms and ideas, at least partly, traces of the common racial history. We, however, realise now that ancestor-history which occurs during individual development is of a very general kind. Some ancestral stages are suppressed altogether. Others modified to suit present needs.

²⁾ Watson, working at the John Hopkins University, found that

1) "Mind", 'a biographical sketch of an infant.'

2) "Psychology from the point of view of a behaviourist", 1924

the new born had only two inherent fears - fear of loud sudden noises and the fear of ^{sudden} withdrawal of support. All other fears were acquired through the process of conditioned reflexes, repressions, transfers etc. We have already remarked that Darwin had also noted the first of these fears in his fourteen days old child, and rightly referred to it, as instinctive. ¹⁾ Sully also found out that a feeling of bodily insecurity appeared very early when a child was awkwardly carried or let down back-foremost. Along with Charles Bell and Preyer, Sully rightly considered this fear as instinctive. But the observations of Darwin and of these other writers were limited either only to their own children or to a very small number of them; moreover their methods were only those of observation and they had no means of ascertaining if environmental factors had been absolutely eliminated. Consequently their writings had not much scientific importance.

The early writers on Child Psychology had therefore not much to say on the subject of shyness. They had rightly pointed out the need of the child to come into contact with the real world of men and material. They had also pointed out that many of the child's fears could be referred to his racial history.

But the one great service which these early writers performed was to focus the attention of psychology on childhood as a whole. Side by side, there were two other movements and all three converged in their emphasis upon the problem child.

1) "Studies in Childhood". pp. 198.

By the end of the last century some research institutes had been established for the cure of mental diseases and as in physical health, so also in mental health, the idea of prevention became prominent. Studies of life-histories of insane persons had already suggested that mental disease did not develop abruptly, but was of slow growth, with its symptoms foreshadowed in the behaviour of the individual during the early years of life. The psychoanalytic studies of functional nervous disorders and other abnormal mental states called attention to the important part played by childhood experiences in the causation of the mental maladjustment of maturity. As Dr. William White has said, "Childhood is the golden age for mental hygiene."

The third movement concerned itself with the scientific study of the criminal and led to the establishment of separate courts and institutions for the trial and custody of children. The medico-psychological studies of criminality revealed that the delinquent trends were frequently developed through the pressure of influence, brought to bear upon the child. Clay for example, in a communication to the Earl of Shaftesbury "stated that he had found 58% of criminals are already dishonest before they are 15 years old, and that 14% become so, between 15 and 16, and that all of them have shown their antisocial tendencies before they are 19 or 20."¹⁾ In 1909, for the first time a psychiatrist, in the person of Dr William Healy,

1) Healy "The Individual Delinquent" 1915.

was attached to the Juvenile Court at Chicago. In 1917 Healy was put in charge at Judge Baxter Foundation, Boston. The results of his work at the Chicago Juvenile Court, Healy gathered together in his monumental work, "The Individual Delinquent." This book deals with 1000 repeated offenders, most of whom were adolescents. In 1909 the National Committee for Mental Hygiene was formed in America, for the prevention of "nervous and mental disorders and mental defect." Later on, owing to the influences I have traced above, this movement began to interest itself in the prevention of maladjustments among children. In 1921, as a result of cooperation between the National Committee and the Commonwealth Programme for the Prevention of Delinquency, Child Guidance Clinics were established throughout the American cities for the diagnosis and correction of behaviour difficulties among children.

In 1925 there were 209 cities in America which could boast possession of one or more such clinics, and in the same year 86 of these clinics served 25,000 children.

In Vienna, there were in the same year 22 mental hygiene clinics, 5 of which were being run by Adler and his assistants, serving approximately 1000 children annually.

In this country the London County Council had such an eminent psychologist as Professor Cyril Burt attached to its Education Department since 1913. Since Burt joined the University College, London, this post has remained unfilled. In 1925, Burt published his results in his famous book,

"The Young Delinquent." In it he analysed the case histories of 123 delinquent boys and 74 delinquent girls. For comparison purposes he made identical studies of four hundred non-delinquent children of the same age and of the same social class. Also, through the generosity of the Commonwealth Fund, a demonstration clinic, called the London Child Guidance Clinic, was established in July 1929 both for treatment and training. Of course many psychiatric clinics existed in London and elsewhere in this country before 1929 and many more have been added since then. At the present moment there are as many as 25 psychological clinics in the 11 cities of Great Britain, 13 alone being in London.

In the Introduction, I have already noted that most of the work done in recent years on the maladjusted child, has mainly concerned itself with the delinquent child. But the work of the psychoanalysts who traced the mental disorders of adults to their experiences as children, and the realisation of the fact that although all problem children did not become delinquent in later life, still the treatment of their difficulties would remove the cause of much unhappiness both at the time and throughout their lives;- both of these led to the study of the withdrawing behaviour traits among children, along side of the more aggressive ones. I shall now briefly review some of the recent work that has been done on the question of shyness, et cetera.

There are mainly two sources where this problem is discussed. The first is the writings of Freud and other psycho-

analysts, including Jung, Adler and their respective followers.

The other is the work of the American psychologists attached to the various children's clinics. The early writers had emphasized the hereditary and constitutional factors as causes of maladjustment. But among the present-day American and psycho-analytical writers, there has been a distinct change from this attitude, and now increasing stress is laid upon developmental difficulties and unfavourable environment.

Both these sections of writers, while giving due importance to the child's need for security and love, also emphasize the necessity of an early psychological weaning, specially from the mother, in order that the child should not find his subsequent social and emotional development hindered. The result of too much pampering by a doting mother, for example, is that the child may lose all confidence in himself and may suffer from a sense of inferiority or a self-deprecating attitude in the face of his daily problems. It is also realised that in some cases a pampered child may later on, in face of the real difficulties of life, adopt an aggressive and defiant attitude.

Which reaction takes place in a given case is determined by
 1)
 many causes. Constance Long is of opinion that it differs according as the tendency of the individual's libido is to in-
 2)
 troversion or extroversion. Wickman, while admitting this, also thinks that at an early period the child "learns" from his social experience, which of the two attitudes he should adopt.

1) A follower of Jung and author of "Collected Papers on the Psychology of Phantasy."

2) P. 171

All these writers have also pointed out that if the little child has not learnt to make a satisfactory adaptation to the outside world by the age of 5, his subsequent development is also bound to be difficult. The period of adolescence, for example, would bring further troubles to the child who may try to avoid the responsibilities of growing up, by again adopting one or other of the two attitudes, withdrawing or attacking. According to psycho-analytic studies regression to an earlier phase of development is likely to be a sign of adjustment difficulties. In the two Commonwealth Fund publications¹⁾, Mary Sayles has discussed all kinds of problem children and in some cases of shyness, etc., she points out how a feeling of inferiority or a fright might lead to a withdrawing behaviour among children. She gives four main causes of feelings of inferiority as given by Dr. Marian Kenworthy:

(1) Inability on the part of the child to rise to the level of his family's aspirations for him.

(2) Too easy success at an early age, resulting in a false sense of security which is rudely shattered by later experiences of failure.

(3) Unduly intense drive towards a standard of achievement unattainable by legitimate means.

(4) Unfavourable comparison with others in the family circle, specially with brothers and sisters.

1) "The Problem Child at School." (1925), and "The Problem Child at Home." (1928).

To this list Miss Sayles adds a fifth one, "the conspicuously dull boy and girl are by the very nature of their handicap, compelled to feel themselves inferior to a majority of their classmates."

In this country, Dr. Grace Pailthorpe published her ¹⁾ "Studies in the Psychology of Delinquency" in 1932. Her results were based upon the study of 100 female inmates of prisons and 100 inmates of preventive and rescue homes for girls and young women. Dr. Pailthorpe showed how in some cases, a delinquent girl's lack of self-confidence and subsequent clash with authority was due to a too close attachment to her mother at an early age and the consequent difficulty in meeting future obstacles. But the great importance of the Report, from our point of view, was that it treated the whole subject more from a psychological point of view than medical, although the author herself belonged to the medical profession.

1) Medical Research Council Report, published by His Majesty's Stationery Office.

CHAPTER TWO. DATA AND METHODS.

SOURCES OF DATA.

(1) Shy Group.

60 shy children in all, 33 girls and 27 boys, were studied for the purpose of the present study. Table 2 shows the places from which these children came.

Table 2. Composition of Shy and Control-Groups.

I. Edinburgh Kindergartens.

Infant Departments	Nursery Schools	Play- Centres	Day- Nurseries	Total Shy	Total Control
3	16	11	3	33	17

II. St. Trinnean's School for Girls.

Infant Departments.	Senior Department.		
3	5	8	4

III. Indian Schools.

Infant Department	"Bal-Mandirs"	Senior Department		
3	9	7	19	9
Total			60	30

33 Children were drawn from what I have called "Edinburgh Kindergartens"; of these 3 came from the infant departments of primary schools, 16 more from Nursery Schools, 11 from

1) Nursery Schools in Edinburgh start at 9 a.m. and stop work after the afternoon nap, at 3 p.m.

1) play-centres and 2) 3 from day-nurseries . These children belonged to working-class homes in Edinburgh; some of the parents had remained unemployed for a considerable time, while most of them were living in slums with great overcrowding, and in some cases, drunkenness, prevailing.

My second group consists of 7 girls and 1 boy from St. Trinnean's Private School for girls. Here children come from very well-to-do homes, with fathers occupying high positions in business or in the professions. The main object in studying children from this class was to have a group of children in this country corresponding in social status to the Indian children mentioned below. There being no compulsory education in the town of Hyderabad, Sind, where these Indian children came from, only children from affluent homes could be studied. This third group of 19 Indian children was studied by me during my holidays in India in the summer vacation of 1933. 9 of these children came from "Bal-Mandirs"³⁾, which in their material and social environments correspond to the Nursery Schools in this country. Although the fathers of these 19 children were employed in high Governmental or private posts, the mothers had but scanty or no education.

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- 1) In play-centres children go from 10 to 12; also they are not so well equipped and the workers too are not so well trained.
 - 2) In Day-nurseries, children whose mothers are working out or who are suffering from some infectious diseases, are sent. They are in charge of nurses who do not know much about child psychology. All the 3 shy children from day nurseries had been just a week there, when they were studied and all of them passed both day and night there.
 - 3) The word literally means a temple for children. The hours for work in these places are from 8.30 to 12.

The period for which Edinburgh Kindergarten and Indian Children had been to Nursery Schools and Play-centres, varied from a few weeks to 2 or 3 years. 20 of the Edinburgh shy children had been over one year in Nursery Schools and other such institutions when they were observed; four more had attended from four to six months and six others just for a few weeks. Of the Indian children, ten "Bal-Mandir" children had been between two to five months in their schools.

Table 3 gives the ages of these 60 children. These varied from 18 months to 14½ years.

TABLE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF AGES.

Age at the time of Study	2-	3-	4-	5-	6-	7-	8-	9-	10-	11-	13-	15-	Total
No. of Girls in each age-group	7	7	7	5	2	4	1	1	3	1	2		33
No. of Boys in each age-group.	2	3	8	8	3	1	1					1	27

Note - 50 children or 83 P.C. of total number of shy children are below 7 years in age.

It will be seen that as many as 50 children or 83 P.C. of them were below 7 years in age. This is an important fact to be remembered when considering the results of this study. Certain causes of shyness e.g. a feeling of inferiority emphasised by other writers, were not found so frequently in this study, perhaps owing to this young age of most of my subjects.

(2) Control-Group.

Side by side with 60 shy children, 30 more children, either normal or exhibiting the opposite characteristic of aggressiveness were studied as a control-group. 24 of them were normal and 6 only, aggressive. By aggressive is meant children who were disobedient and defiant towards authority at home and in the school. But none of them were involved in any delinquencies. By normal is meant children who showed neither the withdrawing nor the attacking mode of behaviour in any marked degree. Care was of course taken to see that these children were of the same age as the shy children, also that they came from the same social class. They were generally picked from the same school as the shy children. Whenever possible, an endeavour was made to have a child occupying the same position in the family as one of the shy ones. Three of the shy children had their twin normal brother or sister for comparison in the control-group. Table 2 also illustrates the composition of this control group, according as the children came from the Edinburgh Kindergartens, St. Trinnean's School, or Indian Schools.

METHODS.

As regards the methods of studying these children, the superintendent of a particular school was first asked to point out children exhibiting any of the withdrawing behaviour traits,

noted above in Wickman's diagram, under her charge. She was also asked to give a general description and state the social attitudes of these children. They were then observed by me while they were playing about freely. Only when my observations confirmed that these children were suffering from one or the other of the above maladjustments to some marked degree, were they included in my study. In some cases, some of the children recommended by the superintendent were, after observation, definitely rejected and one or two of these were even included in the control-group. During observation, among other things, following points were specially noted:-

1. Extent to which the child mixes with other children in play, in talk and in other activities.
2. Is he domineering, submissive or just normal in his relations with other children.
3. Can he stand up for his own rights and possessions.
4. His attitude in front of strangers.
5. Does he hang round the teachers too much.

The child's behaviour was further observed when his intelligence was being tested.

Later on an interview was arranged with the mother, preferably in the child's own home. Table 4 shows that on the average, apart from visiting homes when the child's intelligence was being tested, each child's parent was given $1\frac{1}{2}$ interviews lasting from three quarters of an hour to two hours.

TABLE 4.Number of Interviews granted and homes visited.

	Total number of interviews with parents	Number of inter- views per child	Total Number of homes visited	P.C. of homes visited.
Subjects	88 $\frac{1}{2}$ ¹⁾	1.5	45	75
Controls	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	19	63

- 1) This $\frac{1}{2}$ is explained by the fact that parents of two twin brothers, one shy and another normal, were given only one interview.

But this figure is misleading for it does not show that wherever necessary, the parent was interviewed for the second or the third time. Table 5, therefore, gives a truer picture.

TABLE 5.Number of Interviews with parents of shy children.

Number of Interviews	Number of children.
1	36
2	18
3	6

After the material given in an interview had been gone over, if certain points needed clearing up, the additional information was either sent for by post, or the parent was interviewed the second time. In the case of children over 5 years, there were no opportunities to observe them during their spontaneous activities. But as these children were also tested, their reactions during test situations were noted down. In

some cases, these children were separately interviewed and allowed to talk about their interests et cetera, and show some of their drawings and other interesting collections. In the case of the 75/^{per cent} shy children, their parents were interviewed in their homes. It was generally the mother who was interviewed, but in many cases, the father was also present. During these interviews with parents, a thorough information about the child was asked for from birth onwards. My material for this study, therefore, has been collected from the following sources:-

1. Personal observations in the school and sometimes in the home.
2. Reactions during test situations.
3. Teachers' Reports.
4. Interviews with parents and sometimes with children themselves, mostly in their homes.
5. Drawings and other collections of children.

TABULATION OF DATA.

The causal factors operating both among the shy and the control group children are tabulated in detail in tables 9, 10 and 15. The terms used explain themselves for the most part. The figures are shown in the form of percentages and indicate the number of times the cause specified was observed per hundred cases. The averages given for the shy and the control group children are "weighted averages, i.e. they are based upon the total number of actual cases taken, regardless of sex, not

upon the simple arithmetic mean of the two percentages for boys and girls."

DISTINCTION OF MAJOR AND MINOR CAUSES.

Following Burt, the various causal factors have been termed major and minor, according to the part they played in causing shyness. In some cases, it was not quite easy to make this distinction, but in such cases, experience of lives of children already studied made me decide in distinguishing major and minor causes.

CHAPTER 3. CAUSAL FACTORS - GENERAL.

Table 6 summarises the Causal Factors for producing shyness. Apart from hereditary factors, in all 23 such factors were found, and they have been grouped under 9 headings in the accompanied table. It was found that in the case of each shy child there was one outstanding major cause responsible for his shyness. In addition, over one-third of the boys and over one-half of the girls had one further minor cause accentuating that shyness. In other words, every shy child had one cause for his or her shyness and one half of children had in addition one more factor working against them.

There is, of course, no doubt, that if time had permitted a deeper study of each child, many more factors would have been discovered, producing this excessive shyness and other allied conditions. If we compare these figures for those of the control group, we find that three-fourths of the boys and one-third of the girls had the same cause operating, without producing shyness. On the whole, only one-half of these children had one or the other of the causal factors recorded in the table operating against them¹⁾. It would seem, therefore,^{that} while the above factors are rather important in producing shyness, only when they operate in a sufficient number or in a particular grouping, that they produce shyness.

-
- 1) There were at least three new factors operating against four control group children, but as they did not exist in the case of shy children, they are not recorded here.

TABLE 6.

Summary of Causal Factors among 60 shy children, 27 boys and 33 girls, with a control group of 30 normal (24) or Aggressive (6) children - 13 boys and 17 girls. Expressed as percentage.

	SHY					Normal or Aggressive.		
	Boys		Girls		Aver.	Boys	Girls	Aver.
	Major Factor	Minor Factor	Major Factor	Minor Factor				
I. <u>Environmental Conditions.</u>								
A. Defective Family Relationships	3.7	7.4	-	3	6.7	7.7	5.9	6.7
B. Absence of Company and Overcrowding	-	3.7	3	24.2	16.7	7.7	-	3.3
C. Defective Discipline								
a) Weak (Petting)	48.2	3.7	48.5	6.1	53.3	15.4	17.6	16.7
b) Over strict	11.1	-	15.2	3	15	7.7	11.8	10
D. Vicious Home	11.1	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
Total	74.1	14.8	66.7	36.3	96.7	38.5	35.3	36.7
II. <u>Physical Conditions.</u>								
Total	11.1	7.4	9.1	18.2	23.3	30.8	-	13.3
III. <u>Psychological Conditions.</u>								
a) Fixations.	14.8	-	12.1	-	13.3	-	-	-
b) Rivalries.	-	7.4	3	9.1	10	7.7	-	3.3
c) Fright, Feeling of Inferiority, feeling of being an unwanted child and sense of guilt.	-	7.4	9.1	3	10	-	-	-
Total	14.8	14.8	24.2	12.1	33.3	7.7	-	3.3
Grand Total of I, II and III	100.0	37.0	100.0	66.6	153.2	77.0	35.3	53.3

Following Burt, the various causes producing shyness have been grouped under three main conditions:

- I. Environmental,
- II. Physical, and
- III. Psychological.

This distinction can not be very rigid for both I and II are important only in so far as they have produced any psychological condition in the child. But the latter have been classified under III only when they have been particularly marked in a child.

In order to compare the relative importance of the three main conditions, it would not be accurate to compare the average number of cases in which each condition has produced shyness. According to that way of finding out, the order of importance will be, environmental, psychological and physical. On the average, there was at least one environmental factor responsible for producing shyness in each one of the children. In addition, half the number of children had an additional physical or psychological cause of operating against them. But to argue from this that the environmental factors are the most important causes in producing shyness, is to forget that these same factors operated in the case of 36.7 per cent more children without producing shyness. Instead, therefore, we must find out the coefficient of association between shyness on the one hand and the various conditions producing shyness, on the other. The result is given in table 7.

TABLE 7.

Relation between Shyness and Conditions observed.

	Percentage of Cases		Frequency Ratio	Coefficient of Association ¹⁾
	Shy	Normal or Aggressive		
I. <u>Environmental Conditions.</u>				
A. Defective Family Relationships.	6.7	6.7	1	0.00
B. Absence of Company and Overcrowding.	16.7	3.3	5.06	.41
C. Defective Discipline				
a) Weak (Petting)	53.3	16.7	3.19	.42
b) Over strict	15	10	1.5	.12
D. Vicious Home	5	-	-	1.00
Average	-	-	2.69 ²⁾	.39
II. <u>Physical Conditions.</u>	23.3	13.3	1.75	.17
III. <u>Psychological Conditions.</u>				
a) Fixations.	13.3	-	-	1.00
b) Rivalries.	10	3.3	3.03	.28
c) Fright, Feeling of inferiority; feeling of being an unwanted child and sense of guilt.	10	-	-	1.00
Average	-	-	3.03 ³⁾	.76

- 1) This has been calculated according to the formula given in Appendix II in Burt's "Mental and Scholastic Tests" (pp.217-20)
- 2) As there are no cases in the control group for D, this figure represents the average for A, B, and C only.
- 3) Here also (a) and (c) have not been taken into consideration.

Before any conclusions are drawn from these coefficients, a word of warning must be uttered. It has already been noted that out of 30 control group children, as many as 24 were both morally and psychologically normal and only 6 were aggressive in their behaviour. In selecting these 24 children, therefore, many of the undesirable conditions that have operated among the shy children, have to a very great extent, been eliminated from the beginning, i.e. one of the four factors necessary for calculating a coefficient of association, namely, number of control group children in which any one of the above three undesirable factors operated, is absent. The result is partly seen from the fact that none of the control group children had factors like vicious home, fixations and conflicts and complexes like feelings of inferiority, working against them. We have consequently got perfect coefficients of association in these cases.

In selecting my control group children, it was no deliberate plan to exclude all those normal or aggressive children who came from vicious homes or in whose cases any one of the factors under (a) or (c) in table 7 were operating. These control group children were selected from the same social classes as the shy ones and they happened to be such that in their cases none of these three factors were working. It is, however, realised that children coming from vicious homes can be comparatively normal in some cases and of course many of them would be aggressive. Children suffering from conditions specified under (c) can, however, never be normal, but they can develop

into aggressive and rebellious children. As regards fixations, it might be said that although children suffering from such conditions might subsequently develop into delinquent children, at the early age at which we are studying most of them in this study, they could not be either aggressive or normal. Here, therefore, we have at the outset automatically eliminated all children in the control group.

It will be thus most misleading to argue from the three perfect coefficients, that the three conditions always lead to a withdrawing type of behaviour. Burt found the coefficients of .39 and .45 only, in the case of vicious home and complexes, respectively. But among his control group children, Burt had children who were only "Morally Normal",¹⁾ i.e. the non-delinquents. These might include a few children who were psychologically abnormal, like the shy quiet children, we are studying here. Burt might have got higher coefficients, if he had a control group corresponding to my own, namely, consisting mostly of morally and psychologically normal children. My own coefficients, taken along with Burt's, would, therefore, mean that vicious home, fixations, feelings of inferiority and other conditions mentioned under (c) in table 7, in majority of cases lead to a maladjusted personality. To what extent, this maladjustment will take the form of withdrawing behaviour and to what extent rebellious one, we do not know at the present moment.

1) "The British Journal of Medical Psychology," Vol. III. pp. 3.

It will be an interesting study to have three groups of children - normal, shy and rebellious, and see in what proportions the various undesirable conditions operate in each case. In interpreting these coefficients, therefore, it must be remembered that we are comparing a group of shy children with a group of preponderately normal children. These coefficients of association only tell us the extent to which the various factors produce a shy child in comparison to a normal one. They do not tell us the extent to which the same factor may produce a rebellious child. For example, in the case of vicious home, our figures show that it does not at all produce a normal child. This result is quite likely, is due to the smallness of numbers in the control group. But to say that a vicious home always breeds a shy child will be going too far. Burt's figures show that such homes are responsible for producing delinquent children also. Throughout this study, therefore, my interpretations of these coefficients are only relative; except in the case of fixations they apply only between shy and normal children.

Table 7, therefore, shows that the most important causes of shyness are psychological, next come environmental, and lastly physical. The comparatively high coefficient of association .76 between psychological conditions and shyness emphasizes still more the importance of these conditions.

This result is confirmed by the frequency ratio in column three of table 7. Taking the frequency of each causal factor,

as found among the normal or aggressive children, as unity, the frequency ratio is found by dividing the first percentage by the second. It shows the number of times each condition is found more among the shy children than among the control group children. It is not so accurate as the coefficient of association, but it gives a rough idea of the relative importance of each condition.

Table 8 summarises the causal factors among 60 children, according as the children came from Edinburgh Kindergartens, St. Trinnean's School or Indian Schools. The number of children in each group is too small to make any valid comparisons. But looking at the grand totals, we see that the various factors are more or less equally divided among the three groups. The comparatively smaller figure among the Indian children may be due to the fact that owing to the social customs of the country, one could not get as thorough an information about Indian children as about the British ones. The total figures for the environmental factors also tell the same tale. Lack of company, however, has been a more important factor in causing shyness among St. Trinnean's School children than among the other two groups. This is easily explained by the prevalence of the joint family system in India and a higher birthrate among the poorer classes, than among the upper classes, in this country. Petting, however, is not so common among these upper classes in this country, as the standard of education among these mothers is higher. But still the fact that over one-third of these

TABLE 8.

Summary of Causal Factors according to the source from which the Shy and Control group children came. The figures are expressed in percentage and represent weighted averages of both major and minor causes and for boys and girls together.

	SHY				NORMAL OR AGGRESSIVE			
	Edinburgh Kindergarten Children	St. Trinnean's School	Indian Children	Average.	Edinburgh Kindergarten Children	St. Trinnean's School	Indian Children	Average.
I. <u>Environmental Factors.</u>								
A. Defective Family Relationships.	33	8	19	60	17	4	9	30
B. Absence of company and overcrowding.	9.1	-	5.3	6.7	11.8	-	-	6.7
C. Defective Discipline.	18.2	50.0	-	16.7	5.9	-	-	3.3
a) Weak (Petting)	48.5	37.5	57.9	53.3	17.6	-	22.2	16.7
b) Over-strict	3.0	25.0	31.6	15.0	5.9	-	22.2	10.0
D. Vicious Home.	9.1	-	-	5.0	-	-	-	-
<u>Total</u>	87.9	112.5	94.8	96.7	41.2	-	44.4	36.7
II. <u>Physical Factors.</u>								
<u>Total.</u>	33.3	-	15.8	23.3	5.9	25.0	22.2	13.3
III. <u>Psychological Factors.</u>								
a) Fixations.	21.2	-	5.3	13.3	-	-	-	-
b) Rivalries.	6.1	37.5	5.3	10.0	5.9	-	-	3.3
c) Fright, feeling of inferiority, feeling of being an unwanted child and of sense of guilt.	9.1	25.0	5.3	10.0	-	-	-	-
<u>Total</u>	36.4	62.5	15.9	33.3	5.9	-	-	3.3
Grand Total of I, II, and III.	157.6	175.0	126.5	153.3	53.0	25.2	66.6	53.3

children were petted shows that many a time the emotional needs of the parents can override their better reason. Among psychological conditions, St. Trinnean's school children have again been the greatest sufferers, perhaps because I was dealing here with older children mostly. The fact that no cases of fixations occurred among this class, is also explained by the same reasons, for there was only one child under five in this group. One cannot draw any far-reaching conclusions from these figures, for the three groups were not quite so homogeneous as far as the ages of the children were concerned.

I shall now take each of the three main conditions separately and discuss them in detail. But before doing that a chapter must be devoted to discussing the hereditary factors, involved in producing shyness.

1) "Jülicher Gesandte" - Göttingen.

2) Freud's "Theory of the Unconscious" - London, 1900.

CHAPTER 4. HEREDITARY FACTORS.

Caesar: Let me have men about me that are fat;
Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights;
Yond' Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.

Antony: Fear him not, Caesar; he is not dangerous;
He is a noble Roman, and well given.

1)

Caesar: Would he were fatter! . . .

From earliest times the popular opinion, and in recent years the scientists have distinguished two main types of human personality. The one is characterised by a withdrawal of the individual into oneself, while the other maintains a positive relation to the outside world. In literature, they are represented by Hamlet and Falstaff. The Hamlet type in its extreme form seeks "as far as possible to avoid and deaden all stimulation from outside; they close the shutters of their houses, in order to lead a dream-life, fantastic, 'poor in deeds and rich in thought' in the soft muffled gloom of the interior. They seek loneliness, as Strindberg so beautifully said of himself, in order to spin themselves into the silk of their own souls. They have regular preferences for certain forms of milieu which do not hurt or harm: the cold aristocratic world of salons, office work that goes on mechanically according to fixed rules and regulations, the beautiful loneliness of nature, antiquity, distant times, and the halls of learning . . ."

2)

1) "Julius Caesar" - Shakespeare.

2) Kretschmer's "Physique and Character;" trans. by W.J.H. Sprott. Kegan Paul. 1925.

3) The following information is taken from Part.

The Falstaff type includes the gay chatter-boxes, the happy enjoyers of life and the energetic practical men. Kretschmer describes the last as follows, "They are always sitting on committees, always overburdened with work, and enjoy being overburdened. They always like to have a great deal to do, and above all a great many little jobs, and occasionally something new, and they have a pronounced tendency to concrete practical activities: medicine, politics, social welfare. Whatever they do have hands and feet; they move skilfully, are prepared to compromise, but yet are resolute; they speak out their opinion once and for all, and yet are ever in a good temper. A few of them are ambitious, but more have a sure comfortable feeling of their own value, finding their worth in themselves, and being less interested in rank and distinction, than in the refreshing feeling of activity. They do not prize abnormal internal disturbances and noisy idealistic impulses."¹⁾

These two types of personalities have been named differently²⁾ by different writers. Galen (A.D. 130-200), the Greek physician, made a fourfold classification of human beings into Nutritional, Vital, Nervous and Mental types. Later on the three American writers, Bryant, Goldthwait and Dunham, divided people into Herbivorous and Carnivorous; while the three Italian physiologists characterised them as Microsplanchnic and Macrosplanchnic. Binet called them "little-bellied" and "big-bellied" or the "subjective" and "objective" and they were termed "tender"

1) pp. 213.

2) The following information is taken from Burt.

and "tough" by William James.

It is, however, only in our own time that any scientific data have been collected to justify this classification.

1)
Charlotte Bühler made observations of infants from the second half year of their lives to eighteen months and classified them into three classes:-

1. Socially Blind.
2. Socially Dependent.
3. Socially Independent.

The socially blind infant behaves in the presence of another child as if nobody were present; he looks at the other without any emotion, he takes toys, plays and moves without any regard for the other he is neither impressed nor interested in the other's presence or activities.

The socially dependent, on the contrary, is deeply impressed by the other's presence or activities; he can either be inhibited or else be stimulated by the other's presence. In the first case, he would not move, will watch the other and copy him, will obey him and sometimes even give signs of fear in front of him; in the second case, he will display in front of the other, will demonstrate objects and gestures, will try to rouse the other and sometimes will even get enthusiastic and excited. In both cases all his movements are dependent on the presence of the other child; he observes the effect of his behaviour on the other and carefully watches the other's reactions.

1) "Handbook of Child Psychology" Edt. by Carl Murchison.
Chapter 9, Pp. 393-394.

The socially independent child is one who, though aware of the other's presence and responsive to his behaviour - yet does not seem dependent on him, is neither intimidated nor inspired.

Bühler goes on to say, "These three types occurred independently of whether they were only children, independently also of whether they had had previous contacts with others, and even of their nationalities Thus it seems very probable that these typical attitudes depend on a primary disposition and not on environmental conditions. Some of the babies were retested in several contacts with older and younger, superior and inferior children and seemed not to vary in their typical disposition and attitude."

In considering the various influences, which might affect the "typical disposition and attitude" of a child, Bühler, however, does not mention how the mother's attitude and temperament might influence the child's personality in these very early years. Jung, who classified human personalities into two main groups of introverts and extroverts, took into account the mother's influence and still came to the conclusion that the decisive factor in determining a child's personality type was his innate, inborn disposition. "The fact that often in their earliest years, children display an unmistakable typical attitude forces us to assume that it cannot possibly be the struggle for existence, as it is generally understood, which constitutes the compelling factor in favour of a definite attitude

Two children of the same mother may at a very early age exhibit opposite types, without the smallest accompanying change in the attitude of the mother.¹⁾ Also, according to Jung, every individual possessed both mechanisms - extroversion as well as introversion, and only the relative predominance of the one or the other determined the type.²⁾ It follows from this that there would be many individuals whom it will be difficult to classify under the one or the other category. Jung also thought that perhaps physiological causes played a part in determining the type of person.³⁾

This question of physique and temperament was investigated by Kretschmer. He took 85 men and women suffering from manic-depressive or circular insanity and 175 men and women suffering from schizophrenia. He took their all bodily measurements, weight and state of their glands, and distinguished three principal types of physique -

1. Asthenic. 2. Athletic. 3. Pyknic.

The Asthenic type was characterised by a deficiency in thickness combined with an average unlesened length.

The Athletic was a middle-sized to tall man, with particularly wide projecting shoulders, a superb chest, a firm stomach, . . . while the Pyknic had a pronounced peripheral development of the body cavities (head, breast, stomach) and a tendency to

1) "Psychological Types". Pp. 415.

2) Ibid. pp. 10.

3) Ibid. pp. 416.

distribution of fat about the trunk Kretschmer then divided all his patients into these three physical types and came to the following results:-

	Circular	Schizophrenic
Asthenic	4	81
Athletic	3	31
Pyknic	58	2
	<u>65</u>	<u>114</u>

The rest of the patients fell into minor types being the combinations of the above three main groups. Kretschmer drew the following three conclusions from these results:-

(1) There is a clear biological affinity between the psychic disposition of the manic depressives and the pyknic body type.

(2) There is a clear biological affinity between the psychic disposition of the schizophrenes and the bodily disposition characteristic of the asthenics, athletics and certain dysplastics.

(3) And vice versa, there is only a weak affinity between schizophrenes and pyknics on the one hand and between circulars and asthenics, athletics, and dysplastics on the other.

For his further investigation, Kretschmer took 150 healthy normal persons whose physique was characterised by significant and unmistakable marks of the asthenic, athletic, or pyknic types.¹⁾ From these there also emerged two large classes of temperament.

In the last chapter of his book, Kretschmer summarised the results of his work in the following words; "the chief normal types of temperament, cyclothymes and schizothymes (these terms are general and have nothing to do with the question, patholog-

1) pp. 208-209.

ical or healthy. They are inclusive terms for large, general bio-types which include the great mass of healthy individuals with the few corresponding psychotics which are scattered among them) are determined, with regard to their physical correlates, by similar parallel activity on the part of the secretions, by which, we naturally do not mean merely the internal secretions in the narrow sense, but the whole chemistry of the blood, in as much as it is also conditioned to a very important degree, e.g., by the great intestinal glands, and ultimately by every tissue of the body The temperament of a man apart from the condition of his brain is dependent on two great chemical hormone groups, of which one corresponds to the cyclothymic type of temperament and the other to the schizothymic. With the majority of average men these two groups of hormones are present in varying relations, while pronounced cyclothymes or schizothymes with their one-sided accentuation of group of hormones, result either from isolated inherited variations, or some quality which is inherent in their family breeding.¹⁾

Burt approached the problem statistically. By applying the method of partial correlations to measurements of emotional tendencies, he came to the conclusion that as in the analysis of the child's intellectual disposition, so in the analysis of the emotional, it was possible to discern not only one general or central factor, called by him "general emotionality", but also certain group-factors, less generalised and more specific.

1) Pp. 255-257.

When the influence of the general factor had been eliminated, there emerged positive and negative correlations of a 'partial' order, which showed that certain instincts tended to go more closely together than others. "On the basis of such group combinations we are led to distinguish certain emotional dispositions of at least two qualitatively differing kinds." On the one hand, what Burt calls active or 'sthenic' emotions - anger, assertiveness, curiosity, joy and perhaps sex appear specifically correlated, and on the other, the passive or 'asthenic' emotions - fear, submissiveness, tenderness and sorrow - seem specifically connected to form a second, being related to each other positively, but to the active or sthenic emotions negatively.¹⁾ According to Burt, it was only the emotionally unstable who could be divided into these two groups of active and passive. The rest presumably would have no one group of emotions predominant.

The above discussion seems to show that there are definite scientific data now to assume that there are some children who are inclined to be shy and quiet from their very birth, because of the chemistry of their bodies. I do not say that some children are born shy and quiet, but only that they have got a tendency in that direction.

1) Burt has described this whole thing in his two papers read before the British Association, "Annual Report" Manchester 1915, 'General and Specific Factors underlying the Primary Emotions', and "Annual Report", Liverpool, 1923, 'The Mental Differences between individuals.'

In collecting my material, it was not always possible to find out whether a particular child was introvert or extrovert. In most cases it was difficult to say to what extent the child's quiet behaviour was due to his inborn passiveness and to what extent, to his environmental experience. No proper statistics, therefore, can be given on this point. But it is, of course, obvious that when some of the undesirable environmental, physical and psychological factors, which I shall enumerate later, operate in the case of the introvertive child, there are more chances that the withdrawing mode of meeting difficulties will be more powerful in his case, than the attacking one. This partly explains why some children evade their responsibilities by withdrawal and some by attack in face of the same difficulties.

During interviews with parents, an endeavour was made to find out the type of the personality to which the parent belonged. 21 or 35 per cent of shy children were found to have one or other parent predominantly quiet. The rest, i.e. 65 per cent of them had parents who were either opposite in temperament or showed no predominance in one or other direction. In the control group, 27 per cent of the children had an introvertive type of parent. These figures again show that in so far as the quiet nature of these parents was innate, shyness and other similar conditions are not inherited. That the shy nature of the parents can sometimes indirectly contribute towards creating the same attitude among their children is illustrated from the case of Hasi, mentioned in the chapter on psychological causes.



Isabel (left) and Margaret Forrester, with their grandmother, at the age of 2 months.



Isabel (right) and Margaret at the age of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years.



Isabel (right) and Margaret at the age of 2 years, 10 months.



Isabel (left) and Margaret at the age of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years.

I shall now finish this chapter by illustrating the relative influence of hereditary and environmental factors in causing shyness, from the case of two twins, Isabel (P.R. 53)¹⁾ and Margaret (P.R. 63). Their mother died a few hours after giving birth to Margaret. Both the parents were very quiet-natured and the twins were quite healthy and strong when born. They were subsequently brought up by their father's sister who had lost two girls of her own, and was glad to have her brother's children to fill the place of the dead ones. They passed their first fortnight in a nursing home and the nurse there said that Isabel had "all the worry", that her face was wrinkled and that she was altogether "peculiar". They all thought that Isabel would not survive very long. While the nurse was anxious that Margaret should stay in the Home for longer time, she did not mind the aunt taking away Isabel. It might be that the "worried" and "wrinkled" appearance of Isabel only reflected an introvertive type of personality. But there were other facts which, I think, conclusively showed that that was the case. Both the twins had fixed hours of feeding, but when it was feeding time, Margaret would at once cry and had to be fed first. Isabel, however, was quiet and was fed last. Also, although Isabel always liked to be in her sister's company, up till recently, she never had the courage to hit back, if Margaret struck her first. In their quarrels over toys again, Margaret always got what she wanted. This introvertive personality, I think, is the hereditary factor responsible for Isabel's present excessive shyness.

1) Throughout the thesis these figures represent the percentile rank of the child, according to Merrill-Palmer tests.

But both because of her bad looks, quiet nature and the belief that she would not survive long, because of all these factors, the aunt had always a soft corner for Isabel. She was nursed more than Margaret. Isabel consequently built up a strong attachment for the aunt, so much so, that when Margaret would be moving about in the neighbour's house, Isabel would be sitting on her aunt's lap. Also while both twins slept in separate beds, Isabel shared the kitchen with the aunt and Margaret a room with her paternal grandmother, in the same house. This grandmother does not believe in petting children either and is strict with them. The sharing of the room made Isabel's attachment to her aunt still stronger. When both of them were sent to a play-centre, Isabel would not remain there and rather than leave her crying, the aunt would bring her back, leaving Margaret with the other children. Thus one may say that Isabel's introvertive personality has been both directly and indirectly responsible for her shyness - indirectly because it induced petting on the aunt's side and directly because it made the path of withdrawing from the outside interests, easier. Margaret on the other hand, is a normal child, first because she appears to be extrovertive, and secondly because there was no excessive petting which might have spoiled her. On the contrary, she came in contact with the outside world and had the company of other children to interest her.

CHAPTER 5. PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS.

In chapter three it was found that the most important causes in producing shyness and other similar conditions were psychological. In table 9, I have laid down these causes in detail and in the present chapter I shall discuss them one by one.

FIXATIONS.

All the 9 causes I have enumerated are in the first place acquired. Also as Table 7 shows the most important of these are the fixations either with one of the parents or with one of the elder brothers or sisters. None of the children in the control group suffered from this cause, for the very word fixation implies that the child cannot be normal; and considering the very young age - between 2:9 and 5:7 - of children whose shyness I have attributed to fixations, they could not be aggressive either. The conclusion from this coefficient, therefore, that fixations always lead to shyness, applies only to very young children. As I shall point out later, the subsequent development of these children, however, may be very different. Among 13 per cent of my cases, the major cause of their shyness was fixation.

Fixation is generally the result of too much pampering on the part of the parents. A baby naturally gets attached to his or her mother at an early date, for she is the source of

TABLE 9.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS.

	SHY					NORMAL OR		
	BOYS		GIRLS		Aver.	AGGRESSIVE		
	Major Factor	Minor Factor	Major Factor	Minor Factor		Boys	Girls	Aver.
Mother-Fixation	3.7	-	3	-	3.3	-	-	-
Father-Fixation with Transference to neighbour.	-	-	3	-	1.7	-	-	-
Elder brother- or sister-fixation.	11.1	-	6.1	-	8.3	-	-	-
Rivalry with elder brother or sister or both	-	3.7	3	-	3.3	7.7	-	3.3
Rivalry with younger brother or sister.	-	3.7	-	9.1	6.7	-	-	-
Fright	-	3.7	3	-	3.3	-	-	-
Feelings of Inferiority.	-	-	-	3	1.7	-	-	-
Sense of Guilt.	-	-	3	-	1.7	-	-	-
Feeling of being an unwanted child. (Starved Affection)	-	3.7	3	-	3.3	-	-	-
Total	14.8	14.8	24.1	12.1	33.3	7.7	-	3.3

nutriment and a great harbour in all difficulties. But at the same time the child's social development demands that he should gradually withdraw himself from his exclusive dependence upon the mother and take interest in other people and other things. This is generally prevented by unwise mothers who never like to part with their children, but take them out wherever they go.

Brother-or sister - fixations may be merely transfers from parents or they may arise independently. For example, April and Isabella Dick (3:0) two twins, became too much attached to one another just because they had been constantly thrown in each other's company. Even when they were placed in a Nursery School, they would always keep together. Although they have been nearly 8 months in the school, still they have never spoken a single word either to the teacher or to any other child. They are best left to themselves. They, however, talk a great deal with one another ¹⁾, but would keep quiet the moment the teacher observes them.

The life-histories of the twin brothers, Robert (shy) and James (normal) Finlayson (2:9), on the other hand, illustrate the part played by the mother in producing these fixations. According to the mother, she had always more "sympathy" for Robert, for he could bear things more patiently. Now, however, it is the other way round. Both used to sleep in separate cribs, but when these became too small for them, they slept

1) Once one of them rang a bell meant for calling children to dinner. The other said to her: "You will get bashed for this."

with mother. Mother tried to put Robert in father's bed, but, as even at this stage, Robert was more attached to his mother, he refused and slept with his mother, while James slept with his father. Thus the original attachment of mother for Robert was still more strengthened; on the other hand, James became gradually devoted to his father.



Isabella and April Dick
- the two robbins, as
they are called in the
Nursery School.

But as the latter had to go out to his work, James was able to move about in the neighbours' houses, while Robert clung to his mother's skirts. This kind of fixation retards the

child's progress all round. Robert, for instance, is reluctant to go to the play-centre and while his brother is making contacts with new children, his attention is fixed solely upon the mother. And whenever Robert is in the play-centre, he feels a bit lost.

In some cases this kind of excessive devotion for one parent transfers itself to others, which is desirable if it is just the starting point for widening the circle of one's affections.



Iris Walker (3:11), an example of father-fixation with transference to neighbour.

Iris Walker (3:11) (P.R. 30), at the early age of 20 months got attached to one of the neighbours who had one daughter of his own, and who did not leave his home to sell newspapers round the corner till in the afternoon. This attachment lasted for over a year when the neighbour changed his house. At the age of 2 years when Iris went to a play-centre, she would sometimes first go to this man for having her hair combed. But as many a time she would refuse to leave him, parents tried to send her to the play-centre without seeing him. But if once she happened to see him, no amount of persuading would induce her to go anywhere else. She passed most of her time in his house and occasionally slept there too. When Iris was 39 months old, the man changed his house, and Iris wept for hours at his former house, wishing to see her "Jimmy daddy".

This case shows that mere transfer of affection is not enough to cure a child of his fixations. But there is no doubt that taking advantage of the child's love, both the father and "Jimmy daddy" could have done a great deal to widen her circle of interests.

COMPLEXES AND CONFLICTS.

Among the psychological reasons for causing shyness, the next in importance come those complexes and conflicts which I have included under (c) in Table 6. On the whole they were responsible in 10 per cent of my cases, in half of which they

were major causes for producing shyness. In the case of one girl, the grandparents used to frequent the house, often when dead drunk and I have attributed Rena's (3:11) shyness partly to this fright from her grandparents. She would cover herself with bed-coverings, and during day time, on the slightest noise on the outside door would get up from her seat, frightened.

In two children shyness was due to their being unwanted and perhaps no greater tragedy can happen to a child than to be deprived of the tender care and love of its mother during infancy. Hasi (13:4), an Indian child, was the youngest child in a family of 7 children and was unwanted for the first six years of her life.



Hasi, an Indian unwanted child. Age 13 years, 4 months now.

Both her parents were shy themselves and when Hasi was conceived, mother who was 39 then and had her eldest daughter married, thought that she was too old to have any more children. This shows how parents' shy nature may affect their children. Hasi

was unwanted by her father too, for it was prophesied that he would have a beautiful child, and Hasi was certainly not beautiful. In the second place, a few days after her birth, the father had the great misfortune of his life. He was expecting a promotion and it did not come. He, however, got much more than he had wanted, 7 months after Hasi's birth, but the mischief had already been done. In the third place, the mother had always shown more interest in children than in her husband. She showed no desire, for some time, to stay where the father had to work, because no adequate facilities were available for children's education. Subsequently when mother went and stayed with her husband, Hasi would always stick to her mother, which created a great "jealousy" - this is father's word - in the father's heart. This only created further dislike in the father's heart for the child. There were some other factors too, the net result of which was that Hasi did not experience any love from either parent. It was only when her eldest brother was married that an attachment grew between Hasi and her sister-in-law¹⁾ which only partly compensated for the absence of parents' love for the first 6 years of her life.

A young child wants encouragement, love, sympathy at every step in order to overcome his little difficulties in his daily contact with the outside world. In motor activities like standing

1) In India, the newly married couple does not, as a rule, set up a new home, but the bride comes and lives in the house of bridegroom's parents.

1)

and walking, in situations like waking up and finding oneself lonely, the consequent crying and no response, yelling for food and mother's delay in coming, and in a number of other similar situations which are of daily occurrence to every child, it is only through the encouragement given by the parents that the child acquires sufficient self-confidence to meet the difficulties of life. These difficulties are not only increased in the case of an unwanted child, but they occur more frequently also. Moreover, even when his needs are satisfied, the unwanted child misses that caressing touch and warmth of feeling which give a feeling of security to the child. In chapter two I have already referred to Watson's work, who showed from his scientifically controlled experiments with new-born children, that sudden withdrawal of support was one of the primary conditions causing fear in the child.

2)

In his everyday life, an unwanted child is either denied support when he needs it or it is suddenly withdrawn from him. The result is, a state of physical and mental insecurity with the consequent lack of self-confidence in the child.

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- 1) Preyer, as early as 1881, wrote in his "Mind of the Child", 'When a child is held by one of his arms, so loosely that arm is as if put through a loose ring, he walks properly and steadily; he can, therefore, walk without being held; but if he is left entirely free from one's touch, then he does not walk, but stumbles into the arms of the person . . . Coordinating ability is not lacking, therefore, but self-confidence . . .'
 - 2) This 'specific-pattern' theory of emotional responses has, however, been questioned by many recent experimental workers. But Sherman, for example, pointed out that the child's responses "were more closely allied to the intensity, the duration and the suddenness of presentation, than to the kind of stimulation." Mary Jones also came to the conclusion that "the one common factor which was present in all the fear-exciting situations was that of suddenness and unexpectedness." These studies, therefore, do not altogether invalidate the above reasoning.

Dr. Susan Isaacs in her recent book¹⁾ speaks about the results of a loving mother who gives gifts, in these words, "The gift is not only a sign that the giver loves and does not hate, it is also a sign that the recipient is believed to be loving, not hating and hateful. It thus brings him reassurance against his own sense of guilt and the pressure of his super-ego."

This super-ego is partly an "introjection"²⁾ of the parents with their commands and prohibitions, in the unconscious levels of the child's mind. "A part of himself begins to act towards the rest as the parents act towards his person as a whole. It becomes the parents-in-him and in his phantasies is indeed the parents in him phantasied punishments from the super-ego are often greatly dangerous and destructive even in children whose parents are in reality mild and loving."³⁾ If that is the case with children with loving parents, it could be imagined what tortures children who are deprived of love in their environments, would be suffering from. Their phantasied punishments would not only be reinforced by the real hardhearted parents in the outside world, but there would be nobody to relieve the inner tension of their psychic life. The child consequently becomes full of fears and without any confidence in himself. Before he learns to take interest in the outside world, he must learn to love it, but his sense of insecurity, far from helping

1) "Social Development in Young Children." Routledge, 1933
Pp. 273.

2) Baudouin's "Mind of a Child."

3) "Social Development in Young Children." pp. 270.

him to do that, on the contrary, may make him, like Hasi, cling to any human support that he finds handy and get fixated there. There is no love in his surroundings, which would, as a recent writer has said, "help him to relinquish his infantile and ego-¹⁾ istic ways and change self-centredness into object relationships. "

Billy Ross (3:3) also comes from a home where both parents are cold, reserved, unapproachable and take no interest in their children. Billy, who has a gaping look, has consequently begun to depend too much upon his brother Stewart (5:0). He would scream if Stewart does not do what Billy wants him to do. Stewart is not shy, but he too is cold ²⁾ .

The child who has, however, predominantly experienced love in his early years, tends to meet the outside world also trustfully, for he has never learned any other attitude. His life "has been of a kind to conditions him to expect only pleasantness" because of the love with which he has been surrounded, his attitude is one which comes from a presupposition of approval for whatever he may undertake. He readily becomes a 'good mixer', friendly towards new acquaintances and inviting their friendliness in return. ³⁾ "

There was only one case in this study in which the child's shyness was due to a sense of guilt. This feeling is also part

- 1) "Studies in the Psychology of Delinquency." pp. 89.
- 2) One day Stewart was alone with a Nursery School assistant in a room. She casually asked him how he would like her to be his mother. To this Stewart replied, "Aya, kind o'. Aye! but I would like Miss L. for my mother." Miss L. is the head of this Nursery School.
- 3) "The Child and Society." by Phyllis Blanchard. (1928).

of one's super-ego and a great part of it is, therefore, unconscious. Erica is a St. Trinnean's School girl (9:7). Her mother and her grandfather on the mother's side are also excessively shy and the mother is still inclined to be a bit nervous. The father is English and the mother Scottish. Erica is the middle child in a family of three sisters. All of them are shy, but Erica more so than the others. The relations between them are cordial. The girl was breast-fed and was not at all difficult to wean at the age of 10 months. On the contrary she has been the most placid baby among the three to bring up. Since the age of 6 months she has also been looked after by a nurse who was more devoted to her than to the older sister. Since Erica began to speak, she has had a fear of feathers. She learnt to read when very young and according to mother, used to have such a passion for reading, that she had to prevent her from reading, lest she should spoil her eye-sight. According to the mother, Erica is the favourite child of the father, though he would not admit it. Erica has a "funny" habit of placing her hands, one on each of the parents' shoulders when wishing them good night. She is anxious to show the same amount of love to both parents. Also she has a passion for horses and draws a great deal. She is more shy in presence of women strangers than men strangers. She has an I.Q. of 111.3 and is very good at her school work, specially the written one. This is briefly the account of the girl whose shyness I have to explain.

(On Page 64 is a photostat copy of Erica's drawing. Although very shy and unsocial to outside appearance, this drawing shows the most vivid life that Erica is living in her mind.)

That she is really the favourite child of her father is proved by the fact that when mother said that Erica had a great sense of humour, father said that she was the least Scotch of the three children. Erica's attachment to her father would, however, make her jealous of her mother who shares father's attention with her. Erica's habit of placing one hand on each parent's shoulder is, therefore, of a compensatory nature and is an endeavour to hide her feelings of jealousy towards the mother. Her greater shyness in front of women visitors is perhaps a transferring of her sense of guilt with regard to her mother, to other women. It is, therefore, this jealousy for the mother which produces a sense of guilt and the consequent lack of self-confidence and shyness in Erica.

RIVALRIES.

I now come to my third set of psychological factors - namely rivalries, responsible for shyness. As Table 6 shows, in 10 per cent of my subjects, this has been the cause for shyness, in 8 per cent minor and in 2 per cent major. Fraternal rivalries can take place either with elder or younger brothers or sisters. In the former case, the elder member tries to keep down or ignore or bully the young brother or sister, who,

in return may suffer from a feeling of his own smallness or inferiority. In the case of rivalry between a child and his young brother or sister, it is generally due to the fact that his place in mother's affections has been usurped by one whom he considers as an intruder. The child, in order to compensate for this loss, in some cases reverts to his old babyish ways and clings to the mother all the more. But, in itself, in the present study, fraternal rivalries were not an important cause in producing shyness.

That, too

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT.

In my treatment of the psychological causes, we have already come across one or two cases in which children have tried to compensate for their shyness, lack of self-confidence and other such conditions. In the chapter on hereditary factors, I quoted Jung's remark that every individual possesses both the mechanisms - extroversion as well as introversion. According to Jung "in every pronounced type there exists a special tendency towards compensation for the one sidedness of his type, a tendency which is biologically expedient since it is a constant effort to maintain psychic equilibrium."¹⁾ This study was not sufficiently prolonged to give us cases of children who had become predominantly extrovertive from being shy quiet children at first. But here and there certain phases in the child's

1) "Psychological Types."

development showed a tendency in that direction. Rosemarie (11.1), for example, who is backward in her school work and is suffering from a feeling of inferiority, has acquired the habit of buffoonery and a tendency to mock the teachers and older girls when their backs are turned.

As regards children who have been starved of affection, the case of Hasi shows that in spite of her attachment to her sister-in-law for the last 8 years or so, she still remains a shy quiet child. Asked whether she liked to be a boy or a girl, she replied, a boy. Of course it must be remembered that all that while she has been living with both her parents who are neither profuse in their affections nor do they unnecessarily thwart her in her activities. Perhaps if the parents were a little bit more demonstrative in their love for her, she might be cured to some extent. But in all these cases of shyness, side by side with the removal of the causes of shyness, a child should be made to achieve something of which she feels proud.

A sense of success in something, a feeling that the child is better than other children at least in doing one thing, and can beat them in it, goes a long way to give a feeling of confidence to the child.

That this sense of achievement or success alone, without the removal of root causes is not enough to make the child give up his reserve, is illustrated from the case of Erica (9:7), mentioned above. Her teacher's report included the following words, "Her written work is most able, and shows clear, concise

thought. She has excellent ability in all kinds of hand-work. She draws well, with accurate observation of detail and with a lively sense of humour." If anything, success in school work, far from giving her confidence, provides an easy retreat from her sense of guilt.

Coming to fixations, they do not seem to disappear very soon. 6 out of 8 children who had fixation as the major cause, had been to a Nursery School or a play-centre for over a year and had thus the contact of other children. But their fixations had not disappeared. Iris Walker (3:11) although she has been away from "Jimmy daddy" for eight months, still would at once recognize him, if she happens to see him in the street and would insist on going with him. Of course, mere contact with other children is not enough and the teacher has not only to take active steps to foster social contacts, but also to avoid any undesirable incidents which might prejudice the child against the school. Ellen Christie (5:7), for example, who cried on first seeing me, was in a play-centre for nearly 2 years and now is in a big school, but her trouble of mother-fixation still remains, though she has come out a little bit from her shyness. As a matter of fact, according to the mother, "she never took properly to the play-centre" from the start. To begin with, she was placed in a different class from the one in which her friend Betty, who was her neighbour and with whom she used to play at home, was put. A year later, she was inoculated in the school for diphtheria. Added to this were the annual medical

examinations at the school at which Ellen always fretted. Any stranger in the play-centre was supposed to be a doctor and on seeing him, Ellen would cry. In such cases what is needed is a consolidation of child's personality, by giving him special attention and avoiding all disturbing situations.

In the case of April and Isabella Dick (3:0), the twin sisters, it has partly been the fault of the teachers that the twins' nursery school experience has not encouraged them to have more contacts with other children. Up till recently they have been considered great pets in the school, which has made them rather cling more to the teachers, than play with other children.

But of course, as these children grow up and join the bigger school, they discover to their great agony that mother cannot give them all the attention that they have been used to. They suffer from a "frustrated-mother-fixation" and are the victims of their own anxieties. A least little thing out of the way upsets them. They cannot adapt themselves to the harder discipline outside and consequently some of them lead insecure and unsocial lives of their own; others in their search for a mother-substitute, may fall in delinquent ways.

About the subsequent development of children, antagonistic towards their brothers or sisters, the outlook is more favourable. The shy child bullied or ignored by his elder brother or sister, can soon make friends of his own, and of about the same age as himself. Other circumstances being favourable, he can have a social life of his own, without bothering about his eldest

brother or sister. Pauline (7:4), for example, was very much liked by her sister, Joan, 3 years older to her when she was born, but as soon as visitors began to take more interest in Pauline than in her, Joan became jealous of her. Pauline did not join her school till 7 and consequently had no friends.



Pauline (7:4) on the right and Joan (10:0) in the role of pirates.

When Joan had her school friends at home for parties, et cetera, "Pauline was rather left out of things they were playing, as they were inclined to say that she was too young to do what they were doing."¹⁾ For the same reasons, Pauline did not like to be invited out, along with her sister. Moreover, although Pauline is quite intelligent (I.Q. 122), she is not so clever as Joan (I.Q. 140). According to the mother, Pauline has been

1) From mother's letter.

greatly bossed and commanded by Joan. Although quite independent in her ways, still whenever mother asked her why she did a particular thing, she would say because Joan asked her. But after Pauline has joined the school, things are being remedied. On account of her originality and her imaginative powers, although she herself is mostly quiet, other children have got fond of her and like to sit by her side.

With regard to rivalry with younger members, as the literature on this subject has already made it clear, these happen in almost all children. It is only when the older child has been pampered a great deal, that he finds the sudden withdrawal of mother's love and its bestowal upon one, who has come, he knows not from where, rather too much. Here, by preparing the child before hand and above all, by the mother fostering love between the two of them, a great deal of trouble could be avoided or remedied. In one of my cases, Ansoya (7:0) being the eldest child, was greatly petted in the beginning, but when a brother was born to her, she not only lost her mother's love, but was actually repressed. This, of course, intensified her jealousy for the brother. Ansoya is just a lazy, dependent, sensitive and quiet child now, with no life about her. In another case Rita (12:8) felt jealous of her younger sister for she rightly thought that the nurse favoured her sister more than herself. But in this case, as the mother is devoted to both of her daughters alike, and deals with the difficulties of her children sympathetically, the relations between the two sisters are getting more cordial.

CHAPTER 6. ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS.

After psychological factors, environmental factors have been the most important in producing shyness etc. As table 10 shows they occurred in 96.7 per cent of our cases, or there was one environmental factor responsible for nearly every shy child. But at the same time these factors operated in 36.7 per cent of our control-group children without producing shyness. Table 7 shows that they occurred a little less than three times as often among the shy children as among the normal or aggressive children. Psychological factors had occurred a little over three times as often among the shy children as among the control group children. The Coefficient of Association gives a more accurate picture and we find that while it was .76 in the case of psychological factors, it was only .39 in the case of environmental factors. But these figures are reliable, as it has been already explained, only in so far as they apply between shy and normal children.

The same table 7 shows that among the environmental factors, the most important was what has been called "Vicious Home"¹⁾ and the least important was defective family relationships. Next in importance in producing shyness were too much pampering and lack of companionship, both exerting nearly an equal amount of influence; the last, but not the least important, was over-strict discipline.

1) The term has been borrowed from Burt's "The Young Delinquent" and here it means a home in which one or both parents are given to heavy drink with the consequent maltreatment of children and quarrelling between the two parents. Burt, however, includes "Sexual immorality at home" "molestation", "irregular unions" etcetera in Vicious Home, besides drunkenness and quarrelling.

TABLE 10.

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS.

	SHY					NORMAL OR AGGRESSIVE		
	BOYS		GIRLS		Aver.	Boys	Girls	Aver.
	Major Factor	Minor Factor	Major Factor	Minor Factor				
A. <u>Defective Family Relationships</u>								
Mother deserted.	3.7	-	-	-	1.7	-	-	-
Father dead	-	3.7	-	-	1.7	-	-	-
Father absent.	-	-	-	3	1.7	7.7	5.9	6.7
Part time absence from both parents	-	3.7	-	-	1.7	-	-	-
Total	3.7	7.4	-	3	6.8	7.7	5.9	6.7
B. <u>Absence of Company and Overcrowding</u>								
Overcrowding	-	-	-	3	1.7	7.7	-	3.3
Lack of Companionship.	-	3.7	3	21.2	15	-	-	-
Total	-	3.7	3	24.2	16.7	7.7	-	3.3
C. <u>Defective Discipline</u>								
Weak (Pett-ing)	48.2	3.7	48.5	6.1	53.3	15.4	17.6	16.7
Over-strict	11.1	-	15.2	3	15	7.7	11.8	10
Total	59.3	3.7	63.7	9.1	68.3	23.1	29.4	26.7
D. <u>Vicious Home</u>								
Total	11.1	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
Grand Total of A, B, C, and D	74.1	14.8	66.7	36.3	96.8	38.5	35.3	36.7

To some extent this order of importance is reflected by figures under the column marked frequency ratio. But this would show that lack of companionship was much more important in causing shyness than petting. It occurred five times as often among the shy children as among the control group children, whereas petting occurred only three times as often. The frequency ratio taken along with the coefficient of association, however, shows that although lack of companionship occurred in proportionately more shy children, relatively speaking, it had about the same weight in producing shyness, as excessive petting.

I shall now discuss each one of the environmental factors separately.

VICIOUS HOME.

This was the major cause for producing shyness among 3 boys, or 5 per cent of my cases.

Very soon in its early life, a child gets attached to one parent and is jealous of another. Also it is generally the boy who gets attached to his mother and the girl to the father. In the case of boys, when the father is given to maltreating him and quarrelling with and beating his wife, this initial hostility to father, far from getting diminished, as it happens in the case of good strong fathers, on the contrary gets strengthened. Also the boy gets more and more attached to his mother. The mother in return, starved in her affections herself, may pour out all her love upon the boy. This pampering and too much dependence on

mother, as we saw while discussing fixations, holds up a child's social development. This is what happened in the case of George Prior (4:7) who used to be "knocked about" a great deal by his father when under the influence of drink. Also George could not help witnessing lots of quarrels between the parents. The father, however, died at the age of 33 when George was 3:7. The mother, even before her husband's death, had got too much attached to George and George is just a petted and spoiled child now. But the main cause of George's shyness is not pampering by his mother, though that is partly responsible, but the initial antagonism to his father. He has transferred this both to his elder brother and sister in the home and to the Nursery School teacher outside the home. When he joined the school, a year ago, he did not talk at all to other children and has done so only recently. But throughout the whole year, he has never spoken a single word to his nursery school teacher. If he sees her watching him, he will at once stop talking. Generally speaking a young child gets attached to adult strangers sooner than to children of his own age who are new to him. But the reversal of this order in the case of George shows the extent of the transference of his antagonism towards his father, to all adults outside. Here the child is trying to withdraw into himself from what has been an unsympathetic world for him. In the case of the other two boys brought up in vicious homes, their drunkard fathers are still alive. In the last chapter I spoke about the super-ego which represents the parents in the child's psyche and which regulates the child's conduct. "It is essential that there should

exist a perfect unity of command in the tribunal of the super-ego if it is to function adequately as a regulating mechanism. There might otherwise be conflicts in the child's mind 'engendered by the differing identifications of the super-ego.'"¹⁾ From what one could make out of the listless lives and lack of interest of Harry Reid (5:0), (I.Q. 104.6) and James McPike²⁾ (1:9), one could only say that there is some such conflict working in their super-ego as a result of their quarrelling fathers. In the case of James, his personality has been further complicated by the fact that for the last four months he has been left in a day-nursery owing to the illness of his mother.

PETTING.

Numerically, petting has been the most important single cause in producing shyness. As many as 32 of my subjects or 53 percent of them had been excessively petted by one or other relative. If we add to this 3 other children whose fixations were definitely due to petting, the percentage is raised to 60. But we see the relative importance of this factor by referring to table 7 which shows that it takes the fourth place in the hierarchy of causal factors for shyness. It occurred 3 times as often among the shy children as among the normal ones and the coefficient of

1) Baudouin's "The Mind of a Child". 1933.

2) According to mother, she was frequently assaulted by the husband and when James was three months old was attacked by her husband who had a razor in his hand and in defending herself had her hand severely cut. She has also taken this child into Public Drinking saloons and become involved in disturbances there in an attempt to get her husband home.

association .42, also shows that although there is not any absolute relationship between shyness and pampering, still it is sufficiently important to deserve careful analysis. Table 11 gives as many as 15 reasons for petting shy and control-group children; 13 of these operated in the case of shy children and 5 in the case of the control group. The most important of these causes numerically, was that the child was the youngest member in the family; the next in importance was the child being the eldest or the first-born. The least important in inviting pampering were causes number 13 and 14 which occurred only in the case of normal or aggressive children. There were on an average one and a half reasons for petting each one of the 32 shy petted children, rather less for the boys and rather more for the girls.

The various reasons for petting incidentally give an insight into the personalities of the parents, who, instead of leaving children to live their own free lives, feel that children are in some mysterious ways parts of themselves.

The part played by petting in relation to the position of the child in the family is further illustrated by table 12. page 81
 The first horizontal row of figures shows the percentages of 60 shy children according as they are eldest, only, middle, or youngest children. The third row represents the percentages of shy, petted children also according to their position in the family. ¹⁾ As we saw, 53.3 per cent of children were shy because

1) These figures do not correspond with similar figures in table 11 for in table 12 they are represented as percentage of all the 60 shy children, whereas in table 11 they are percentages of 32 shy petted children only.

TABLE 11. Reasons for Petting of 32 Shy Children - 14 Boys, 18 Girls and a control group of 2 Boys and 3 Girls, expressed as percentage.

	SHY			CONTROL		
	Boys	Girls	Aver.	Boys	Girls	Aver.
1. Youngest Child. ¹⁾	42.8	44.4	43.7	50	33.3	40
2. First Child.	28.6	33.3	31.2	-	-	-
3. Born after brother's or sister's death. ²⁾	21.4	16.7	18.8	-	-	-
4. Only Child.	7.1	5.5	6.2	-	33.3	20
5. Born after many years of married life or after too long an interval between the elder child and the present one.	7.1	11.1	9.4	-	-	-
6. Ill-health of Child.	7.1	11.1	9.4	-	-	-
7. Father thinks he is responsible for child's illness. ³⁾	-	5.6	3.1	-	-	-
8. Good Looks. ⁴⁾	-	5.6	3.1	-	33.3	20
9. Bad Looks. ⁴⁾	-	5.6	3.1	-	-	-
10. Quiet temperament.	-	5.6	3.1	-	-	-
11. Not expected to live long	-	5.6	3.1	-	-	-
12. Born after 3 boys. ⁵⁾	-	5.6	3.1	-	-	-
13. Only boy ⁶⁾ or for being a boy. ⁷⁾	21.4	-	9.4	-	-	-
14. Great Intelligence.	-	-	-	-	33.3	20
15. Compensation for father's strict discipline and brothers' and sisters' antagonisms.	-	-	-	50	-	20
Total	135	155.7	146.7	100	133.2	120

- 1) Includes one Indian child in the control group, who was supposed to be the last but was followed by two more later on.
- 2) Still-born included.
- 3) An Indian father thinks that his two daughters have inherited their stomach troubles from him.
- 4) This refers to Isabel Forrest whose case has been illustrated on pages 51-52.
- 5) In India, a daughter born after 3 sons is most welcome and is considered fortunate.
- 6) In many communities in India, boys are more welcome than girls, because of the income they bring. Moreover, when they marry, they bring in some places not only a wife, but also a lump sum amount of money which may run to as much as £1100. The value of a young man educated in the West rises still more in the matrimonial market.
- 7) A Kindergarten child was petted by his father who considered him as his pal. His eldest child was a girl and the youngest, though a boy, was still too young to keep him company.

of petting; out of these 20 per cent were first-borns, 10 per cent were middle and 23 per cent youngest children, i.e. 43 per cent of total shy children were petted because of their being the first or youngest members in their families. These figures are pictorially represented in Fig. I, (Page 80). This 43 per cent means 70 per cent of the total number of shy first borns and youngest children. This shows that nearly three-fourths of the youngest and first children among our cases had their shyness as a result of pampering. On the other hand only among 26 per cent or one-fourth of our shy middle children was shyness due to pampering. Fig. II and Fig. III illustrate these facts. The corresponding figures for the control group children are 5 per cent and 22 per cent respectively, again showing the great part played by pampering in causing shyness among the first-borns and youngest children. I shall have an occasion to refer to table 12 again at the end of this chapter.

Table 13 gives percentages of cases of petting and fixation according to the part played by the different members of the family. Mothers, as might be expected, have been the greatest culprits in petting children. In as many as 50 per cent of petted children, the mother played the role of spoiling. She is followed by the father who has been responsible for 35 per cent of the petted children. So far as this study shows, mothers have spoiled an equal number of sons and daughters, but the fathers have spoiled more daughters than sons. Grandparents have been close followers of fathers in spoiling their grand-

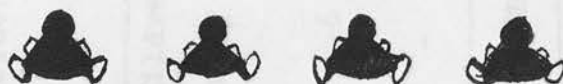
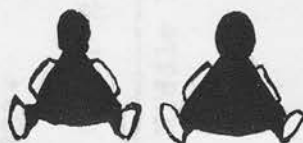
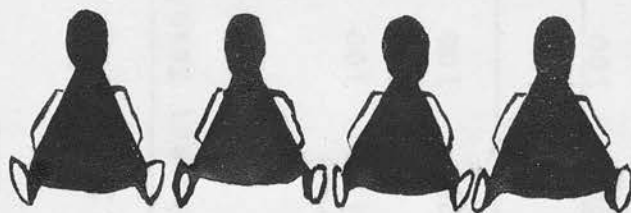


Fig. I Showing the relationship between pampering and position of child in Family.

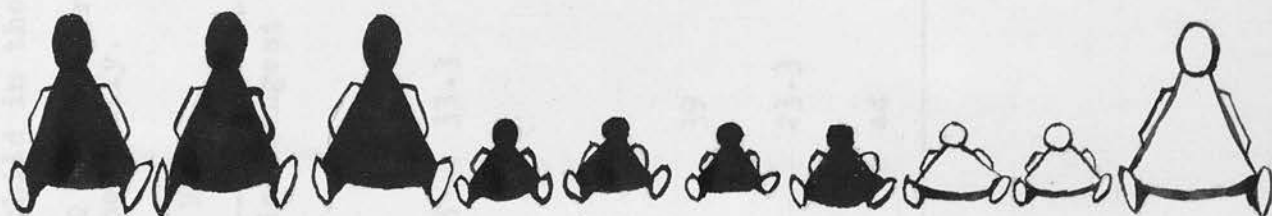


Fig. II Relationship between Pampering and Eldest and Youngest shy children.

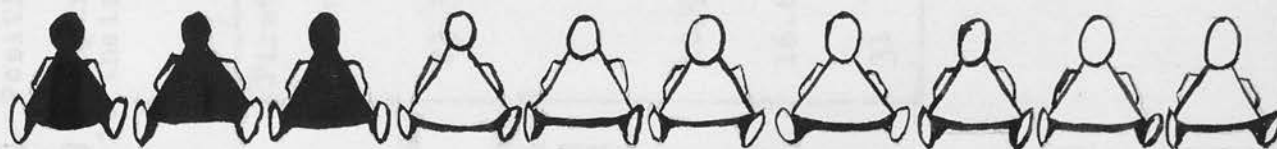


Fig. III Relationship between Pampering and Middle Shy Children.

Table 12 shows (a) Position of the shy child in the family.

(b) Comparison between 60 shy children and 32 shy children who have been petted, according to their position in the family. Expressed as percentage.

S H Y

	S H Y				C O N T R O L			
	First Children	Middle	Youngest	Total	First Children	Middle	Youngest	Total
1. Total Number of shy children	23.3	5	38.3	100	20	6.6	30	43.3
2. Total Number of shy children (46 in all) after eliminating only children and children from families with two children.	10.9	-	50	100	25	-	50	100
3. Percentage of shy children, petted.	16.6	3.3	10	53.2	-	3.3	6.6	16.5
4. Percentage of petted children.	31	6	19	100	-	20	40	100
IDEAL CONTROL GROUP								
	20	-	60	100	20	-	60	100

Table 13. Percentages of cases of petting and fixation, according to the part played by the different members of the family.

Member of Family	Boys 14+4	Girls 18+4	Weighted Average.	Control		
				Boys 2	Girls 3	Aver.
1. Mother	50	50	50.0	50	100	80
2. Father	27.8	40.9	35.0	-	66.6	40
3. Grandparent (generally grandmother)	38.9	27.3	32.5	50	-	20
4. Brother	16.7	18.2	17.5	-	-	-
5. Sister	11.1	18.2	15.0	-	-	-
6. Uncle	11.1	9.1	10.0	-	-	-
7. Aunt	11.1	9.1	10.0	-	33.3	20
8. Nurses, Servants.	5.6	4.5	5.0	-	-	-

Note. In the case of 32 children 14 boys and 18 girls, petting was the major or minor cause of their shyness. 8 others - 4 boys and 4 girls, had some kind of fixation as the major cause of their shyness.

children. Generally, it was the grandmother who played the principal role and this was specially found in working class homes, where the grandmother either actually lived in the same house or near by. If we compare the figures for Indian children with those of Edinburgh Kindergarten children, we find that 50 per cent or half of these Edinburgh petted children were

spoiled, among others, by grandparents, while only 36.4 per cent or one-third of the Indian children were similarly spoiled.

The grandparent thus seems to play a greater part in the working class homes in this country ¹⁾.

The reasons why grandmothers spoil children are obvious. Old age means passivity and softness. The grandparents have not got the psychic strength to show that firmness which is at times, so essential for children. No grandma, for example, could resist the appeal of little Iris Walker (3:2), mentioned above, when she says to her, "Have you a ha'penny for your wee lassie?" The grandfather and the bachelor uncles of Tommy Bell (5:6) also think that there is nobody like Tommy; while May Hunter (4:11) is always happy to put on her new clothes, and be off to her grannie's house, round the corner.

The grandparents try to satisfy all the needs of the child who, in a vacillating and soft atmosphere of this sort, as I shall presently show, is torn between the dreadful phantasies of his super-ego.

Brothers and sisters come next in petting their younger charges. In some cases it may just be an over-compensation for their initial hostility. Jean Robertson (3:5), for example, had been greatly petted by her brother Tommy (6:0). If he found his sister's hands dirty, he would whisper to her that mother would punish her, and then went and washed her hands himself.

1) No cases of petting by grandparents occurred in the case of St. Trinnean's School children.

If Jean was crying as a result of some punishment, Tommy would also do the same and would wipe away her tears with her skirt. Everything, in short, was done for Jean.

Aunts, uncles, nurses and servants also play their part in spoiling children.

I have now to consider two important questions. In the first place, how petting leads to shyness and in the second place, why petting did not produce any withdrawing behaviour in the case of 5 control group children.

Petting involves a number of things. In the first place it means too much dependence upon the petting parent or relative. Instead of the child himself attending to his daily tasks of feeding, dressing, sleeping etcetera, and thus acquiring the qualities of independence, self-reliance and confidence, somebody else gives him unnecessary help, making him dependent upon adults and cling to his parents. Euna Fraser (3:6), for example, is treated by her parents as if she were made of gold. She is actually carried to the nursery school, although it is only a stone's throw from her home. Petting also means that the child is too much in the company of his mother or other relative. Wherever she goes, the child also follows. He cannot tolerate mother's absence and cries after her. For example, James Kinnaird (5:1) (I.Q. 117.8) screams after the mother if she goes out without taking him and says, "Who is to mind me?" Of course, mothers themselves are responsible for this attachment on the part of children for, in some cases, they would not trust

the other members of the family to look after the child. Brothers and sisters also play their part in this kind of spoiling. In the case of John Fee (3:0), for example, who is the youngest child in a family of 7 members, his brothers and sisters are so fond of him that the mother has tried to assign different days to each one of them when they could take him out.



Even the temptation of going to a cinema with his father and sister, is not strong enough for James Kinnaird (5:1) standing on the left with his brother and sister to leave his mother.

Edith (3:6), youngest child in a family of 6 members, also has too much attention at home. When still a baby, the eldest brother used to look at her and say, "Isn't she a fine bairn!" This child now would weep if the father is a bit late in fetching

her from the play-centre and once when the teacher was annoyed with her, she was sick. The child's excessive attachment for one parent makes him jealous of the other, for he or she is a rival to him in his affections. It also makes him jealous of other children, for he fears that they might take away part of his mother's or father's affection. He consequently becomes a victim of his own anxieties and his whole social development gets retarded. Even in a case of a normal child, his first entry into a Nursery School, for the same reasons, is marked by a silent watching and hostility to other children. This fear of other children is still worse in the case of a child who has received more than his share of mother's affections. The child who has been the centre of an admiring crowd at home, suddenly finds that in the Nursery School, for example, he is just like anybody else and there are 20 to 30 more children with whom he has to take his turn. He longs for the attention of the home, cries and wants to accompany his mother back to the home. He would like to have his own way at the school as he is used to at home, but he lacks the necessary confidence to make his desires felt.

The first reception which I got from some of these shy over-protected children, when below 5 years, whether in the Nursery Schools or in their homes, was an exhibition of copious tears and a search for the comforting hand of the teacher or the mother. This showed that these children thought that I was going to deprive them of their mothers and felt jealous of me.

They wanted a monopoly of their teachers' or mothers' attention and their behaviour showed that they had not yet been weaned psychologically. Some of them, however, kept quiet when I joined with the mother in taking interest in them, but only to revert to their fretting very soon. The little child's attitude at this stage is "Those who are not with us, are against us". Psycho-analysts would further explain children's fear and hatred towards me by their need to pour their hatred (due to the occasional frustration of their wishes) for the mother to another individual. Having purified themselves of their hostilities, they draw all the more to the mother. According to these writers, it is not mere displacement of child's hostile feeling from mother to an enemy that is involved here. There is also the projection of the child's bad self which hates the mother, to a stranger, who is made into a scapegoat. The child comes to feel that it is the stranger who hates the mother and not he himself. This kind of displacement and projection take place in the case of every child whether he is or is not in the company of other children, for both these mechanisms also operate in the case of strange people that child meets in the street. But as I shall soon show, the company of other children greatly helps the child to get over his fear of adults. All the three children, Ellen Balsillie (2:3) ^(P.R. 8) / John Fee (3:0) (P.R. 38) and Ellen Christie (5:7) (P.Q. 104.2) who cried on first seeing me, had been so much in the company of one individual or just their narrow family circle, that all outsiders were regarded as enemies.

Petting and pampering in the third place may mean that there is no consistency of discipline in the child's home. If he is scolded or rebuffed by one parent, the petting parent or relative is there to take his side, and to confirm him in his view that the other parent must certainly be an enemy. He thus gets still more attached to the petting parent. While discussing the influence of a vicious home, I pointed out how the maltreatment of the mother and the child by the father produces a conflict in the child's mind. Inconsistent discipline also produces the same result, though not to the same extent. According to one parent, the child may do a certain thing, but according to another, he must not do it. Which of them is correct? This forms the basis of a conflict with its consequent lack of self-confidence in the child.

Lastly, in order "to have peace", as many mothers said, everything that the child wants or needs is provided for and the child's phantasies of omnipotence are strengthened still further. This makes his adaptation to the outside world still more difficult.

I have already spoken of the super-ego which the child early develops in himself after the pattern of his parents. According to some psycho-analysts¹⁾, the special situation in which the division of the child's personality into the wish-self and the parent-self, or super-ego takes its most definitive form, is the screaming fit. When the child cannot get satisfaction for his

1) "The Psychology of Screaming" by M.N. Searl, I.J. of Psycho-Analysis, XIV. Pt. 1.

instinctual desires of hunger or love, screaming is his first real attack upon the parents and constitutes the wish-self. The physical pain caused by his screaming and the psychic pain caused by the unfulfilment of his wish, he attributes to those whom he wished to attack. One might say, therefore, that the first frustrations of the oral desires of the child, give rise to the development of forces in the child, called the super-ego. It represents the "hard-hearted" parents who have deprived the child of what he wants. It happens in the case of every child that his most urgent desires are not satisfied at times. He screams and cries and if still no satisfaction is coming, he may come to "hate the unsatisfying, therefore bad, mother. He would, if he could, scratch, bite, devour her . . ." He wants to do all these things to her "when she will not do what he wants, i.e. when she is 'bad'. Therefore, she must be wanting¹⁾ to scratch, bite, devour him, when he is 'bad'".

According to these psycho-analysts, therefore, every child, side by side with loving his parents, also comes to hate and have aggressive wishes against them, for the many frustrations in his life for which they are responsible. But his aggressive desires and hatred give rise to a state of anxiety in him and fear that his parents would have revenge upon him. This fear is part of his super-ego which regulates his conduct.

It might be admitted at once that to the layman, this account of child's inner life is a bit phantastic. But one can-

1) "Some Contrasted Aspects of Psycho-Analysis and Education" by M.N. Searl, Br. J. of Edu. Psych. Vol. II. 1932.

not deny that when some of the most urgent desires of children are not satisfied, they begin to hate the people most responsible for these denials. It is also a common fact that all children are to a lesser or greater degree afraid of their parents; and considering that parents usually show great love to their children and satisfy some of their most pressing needs, this hatred on the part of children must give rise to a state of anxiety. We have now to consider how petting, far from diminishing this anxiety, on the contrary increases it. In a normal loving home, where parents are neither too strict nor too lenient with him, the child soon gets over his fear of parents. He projects his super-ego on to his parents and leaves it to them to guide him. He has learnt to have such trust in them, that he knows that he is perfectly safe in his parents' hands. Although they show him all love and consideration, yet when circumstances demand, he is checked and controlled. The child sees that the parents could control him without actually killing him, as his phantasies seem to suggest. This steady light of reality greatly relieves him of his fears. In a strict home, this anxiety is on the contrary increased, for ^{the} child only gets a confirmation of his inner fears from the outside world. But in a home, where the child is petted too much, he certainly does not get this confirmation. But even the most petted child has had and will have his periods of frustration with its consequent feeling of hatred for the parent. If anything, this feeling will be more intense in his case than in the case of normal

children, for to a petted child, a small deprivation is, by contrast, very great. He will, therefore, have his aggressive phantasies and feelings of hatred against his parent, with the result that his inner anxieties, sense of guilt and fears will still be with him. There is no controlling hand in his environment which will show him that parents can be strict without actually putting his life into danger. In the case of a petted child, therefore, although he is quite secure as far as his outside environment goes, yet in his inner life, he is a victim to the dreadful phantasies of his super-ego.

Excessive shyness, is, of course, only one of the ways in which different children try to solve this mental conflict. From the point of view of their psychological origin and developmental history, Susan Isaacs considers shyness, excessive defiance of authority, stubbornness, jealousy, and many other defects of personality in young children, as neurotic difficulties, like phobias, night-terrors, nail-biting and excessive masturbation. Which of these ways, the child will adopt, depends upon his own nature, his real experiences, and the nature of the wishes involved with their corresponding phantasies. She summarises the whole position in these words:-

"Young children do need to feel that the adults around them are stronger than themselves and represent, not the forces of destruction, but those of ordered creation. There are times with every child when he needs to feel that he can be made to

1) "Neurotic Difficulties in Young Children" Br. J. of Ed. Psy. Vol. II. Part 1. 1932.

do things, that those whom he loves are not at the mercy of his own ungovernable instincts, but are firmer and stronger and more reliable than he. If he is able to feel that he can do what he likes with them, he will suffer more acutely from the dread of inner retribution. It is to be remembered, again, that the phantastic super-ego which the child dreads within himself is built upon the earliest oral pattern, and that he finds relief from this dread of being attached, bitten, eaten up, by discovering that the real parents can restrain and control him without eating him up. He finds relief from inner tension by being able to project his super-ego on to real adults who will exercise it for him. If that real external control is firm and secure, but mild and tempered, it enables the child to master his destructive impulses and to learn to order and adapt his wishes to the real world. If he neither finds fulfilment of his phantastic dreads in the outer world, nor is left at their mercy in his inner world by having no external support, but is slowly educated by a tempered, real control, mild and understanding, appropriate to each situation as it arises, he is led forward on the path of reality and towards all those indirect satisfactions in the real world, the sublimatory activities.¹⁾

Pampering thus leads to too much dependence on and attachment to adults, an inability to mix with others, and form new interests, and by leaving the child at the mercy of his super-ego, creates states of anxiety, guilt and lack of self-confidence in him.

1) "Social Development in Children." pp. 421.

The influence of petting in causing shyness is illustrated by the case of Nirmla (3:10), an Indian child. She is the only child in a home consisting of four adults. Her eldest brother died soon after birth and consequently parents were looking forward to Nirmla's birth and she has been a spoiled child since the beginning.



Although 5 years old now, Phyllis, standing between her two sisters, is called a baby. The cause of her shyness is too much petting.

When she joined the Bal-Mandir, four months ago, she would wander about for 15 to 20 minutes and then get tired of it. She would not at all mix with other children or play with any material lying about. Instead she would follow the teacher and ask to be sent home. After she had been in the school for

an hour or so, a maidservant from home would bring her some breakfast, which she would enjoy quite well, in the company of her servant. The father in his interview confessed that being the only child, she had been certainly petted. She took practically no breakfast at home before starting for the school and hence they sent some to the school. The reason why she took no breakfast at home was of course that parents were too anxious about her. In the words of the father, for every mouthful that she took, they were happy. Nirmla would tease her parents by going and sitting on the top of the wooden cradle - which every Indian household possesses to this day, and parents would follow her and put some food in her mouth, while Nirmla herself sat on the top of the cradle like a queen. What child, having commanded such attentions at home, would like to be relegated to the background of a Bal-Mandir?

We have now to consider our second question as to why loose discipline did not cause shyness in the case of 5 pampered children in the control group. Of these, 2 have been termed aggressive and 3 as normal.

The first aggressive child, Mohini (12:8), is the seventh child in a family of 9 children. When she was born, both parents thought that she was to be their last child and consequently was made much of, till another sister arrived 3 years later. The father is rather conservative in his views and according to him, the proper place of a girl and woman is home. He does not allow his children to go out much after school hours. He

emphasizes that his daughters should learn cooking, sewing, and other domestic arts, and is specially keen on their religious education. Mohini, who is quite a bright child, likes to go to parties, excursions and be among her friends. Although Mohini's early pampering might have created a state of anxiety in her, her later experience brought her in contact with the father's strict discipline, producing a defiant and aggressive attitude in her.

Another control group child is Kamla (8:0), youngest sister of Mohini. She too was spoiled a great deal on account of her good looks, great intelligence and for being the youngest child in a family of 11 members. She has great powers of leadership and initiative, more so than Mohini, and she is generally to be found with two or three girls hovering about her. She has also a great talent for music. She is, however, quite a normal child on the whole. Her great natural powers of intelligence and temperament seem to override any harm done by her early petting. It is yet to be seen whether the restrictions of her father during her adolescent period would produce the same defiant attitude in her, as in the case of her sister. Considering her great powers, perhaps they would.

The rest of the 3 control group children are all Edinburgh Kindergarten children. In all, petting has been only one of the many factors operating in their case. For example, Robert Bald (4:3), a normal child, has been greatly spoiled by his grandparents, so much so that father has no control over his

children in their presence. They, however, are not living in his house, but only near by. But although the father has been away from home for nearly a year and a half, the mother is inclined to be a bit strict, though not very much so.

Petting, therefore, seems to produce shyness only when it is a predominantly prevailing attitude of those who have to deal most with the child. Also child's own natural powers and the subsequent events of his environment, might come to alter that behaviour.

ABSENCE OF COMPANY AND OVERCROWDING.

This has been the next important cause in producing shyness. As table 10 shows it has been the major or minor cause of shyness in the case of 17 per cent children, compared to 3 per cent of children in the control group in which it did not produce shyness. Its relative importance is seen in table 7 which shows the coefficient of association to be .41, between absence of company and shyness.

Overcrowding was responsible for causing shyness in the case of Betty (3:7) only in whose house there were 6 members altogether to share one room. But considering that Betty went to a nursery school every day, it was not a major cause in producing her shyness. Otherwise in an overcrowded room parents are compelled to restrict the natural activity of the child which plays an important part in giving the necessary relief from inner anxiety

and confidence to the child. If the restrictions are too many, they might come to exert the same influence as strict discipline which I shall discuss presently.

We have already noticed that the initial attitude of a child 2 to 3 years old, on first entering a group of children, is one of passive and defensive hostility. Considering that love for the child is not first and foremost merely "a state of mind" or "a way of behaviour", as it is for an adult, but "consists of concrete physical experiences and even of actual bodily substances", it cannot be shared with anybody. As Susan Isaacs says, it is "the young child's utter dependence upon the love and care of adults, his absolute need to possess them and their love, that makes the mere presence of another child seem to him a threat to his life and love."¹⁾

This hostile watching is soon replaced by some form of actively hostile behaviour which is a distinct advance, for "it shows that the child has a little less need to be ready always to defend himself, and is less inhibited by anxiety." This more egocentric imposition of phantasy by one child on several of the group, is often a real benefit to them, for they are drawn into playing with one another. But in his contacts with other children, the child gets many shocks to his egocentric assumptions, for in his endeavour to gain his point, he has to bully, threaten, attack or bribe, and appeal to his companions, which bring corresponding responses from them. Sometimes his

1) Ibid. pp. 232.

own egocentric phantasies harmonise with those of his companions and he thus learns the joys of playing with them. The net result of this contact with other children is, that the child does not only give up his hostile attitude towards them, but actually comes to enjoy their company. He is also learning his first lessons in adapting himself to company.

Another most essential mechanism by which the child passes from his primary egocentric and hostile attitude to a more social one, is that in the very process of making friends with one child, he displaces his original hostility for him to a third child. As I have already referred in the section on petting and as I shall presently point out in greater detail, every child along with every adult, whether neurotic or normal, has an ambivalence of feeling. The more he is successful in transferring this hostility to a third child, the more closely he feels united to his friend. As Susan Isaacs says, "A sense of togetherness is born between them, fostered and heightened by the enmity to the third. We are together against him, the outsider Whenever two or three or more of these young children draw together in feeling or aim sufficiently to create a group, they tend in their very drawing together, to find an enemy to the group, an outsider, one shut out and hated. It would seem that the existence of such an outsider is in the beginning an essential condition of any warmth of togetherness within the group."¹⁾

1) Ibid. pp. 249-50.

But the child shows his hatred and hostility not only to other children, but also to adults who intervene when he is with one adult. This hostility arises mainly from two causes which have their origin in the family situation. The child, in the first place, is afraid that the two parents will unite against him and he is consequently anxious to separate them. They cannot love him so fully, if they love one another. Their love for one another is an actual menace to him. In the second place, as I mentioned above, the child feels both love and hate for each parent¹⁾. While discussing petting, it was seen that this hatred partly arises from the "inescapable denials and thwartings" of his wishes at his mother's hands. But "this loving and hating of the same so important person is itself a source of great tension in his mind." It could be so great that the child can tolerate no expression of it in open behaviour and his whole intellectual and emotional life may be severely inhibited. Most children, however, get over this tension or anxiety by splitting their love and hatred for one parent; they show love to one parent and hatred towards another. But another mechanism by which the child relieves his tension and anxiety, is the company of other children. Even the happy and loved child suffers from a feeling of guilt and inferiority. But once he has mastered his hostility to other children and enjoyed the joys of togetherness with them, he finds that he can join hands with them not only against rival groups of children, but

1) For the deeper genetic sources of this ambivalence, refer Susan Isaacs' "Social Development in Children."

also against the dreaded parents and other adults. As Susan Isaacs has said, "The greater freedom of spirit, the greater openness and confidence of disposition shown individually as well as cooperatively by children who play freely among their fellows, as compared with solitary children, rests upon the greater security which this discovery of other children as allies makes possible. The benefits which the Nursery School (or large family) confers upon its children are bound up with the ease and relief from unconscious (as well as conscious) fear of the parents which the companionship of other children brings to each The banding together" of children against grown-ups and other children, "is an immense step forward on the attitude of the child dependent for love and approval upon the parents only, and feeling nothing but fear and rivalry towards his fellows."¹⁾

And it is not only against the deeper anxieties in relation to his parents and other adults that the comradeship of other children gives support to the child and thus creates a feeling of security and confidence in him; what is more significant is that the child gets support against "the internalised parents, the child's super-ego." The example of other children doing things without punishment and danger, provides a relief from his phantasies of punishments and by giving an inner support to the child, develops a sense of reality in his actual relations with adults.

1) Ibid. pp. 260-261.

I spoke about an attitude of dependence which too much pampering produces in the child. But to a certain extent, this dependence is common to all children and it is again the company of other children which makes the child feel conscious of his own powers and win his first independence from adults. They cease to be giants and ogres which his imagination had made them to be and now he can dare to look at them in their faces.

Lack of companionship, therefore, produces shyness, for a solitary child finds no relief from his dread of other children and other adults as rivals; he misses that sense of confidence in himself which comes out of allying with other children against rival groups of children and other adults. The result is that he clings to his mother all the more and finds subsequent adaptation to outside world difficult. The child who has been brought up in the company of his equals, on the other hand, being free from all fears and inhibitions that paralyse action, is taking giant steps towards his social development. How lack of companionship causes timidity, shyness, unsociability and other such conditions, is illustrated by the following case, already referred to in the Introduction.

Dorothy (7:4) is an only child and both her parents are quiet; the mother because, she was kept down by her elder sisters and the father because "inferiority complex was instilled" in him by his mother. He is an only child and although he was not a bit spoiled, he is often blamed for that. Anyway he was anxious to avoid any kind of spoiling in the case of Dorothy.

Dorothy was a placid and quiet baby to bring up and in their endeavours to avoid petting, both parents agreed, that they had gone to the other extreme and Dorothy had been very much kept in the background. She had no companionship of other children till she was nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$, when she made friends with a neighbour's child George¹⁾, one year her junior.



Dorothy (7:4) an only child, standing with a friend.

But before that, she had three imaginary companions of her own, Dava, David and someone else with whom she had long conversations. They lived in a boarding-school and came to her for tea. At the age of 5, when she first joined the school, she said that she had drowned them. Another interesting point about her life is that Dorothy always gets on fine with elderly people whom she has known for some time. Although her I.Q. is 127.3, the high-
 1) Included under my control-group children.

est among all the 8 St. Trinnean's shy children studied in connection with this thesis; following is the teacher's report, after Dorothy has been in the school for two and a quarter of a year. "She has very little originality and is only learning very slowly to rely on herself, and have more confidence in her own abilities. The other children in her group do not find her the most interesting of companions, perhaps because Dorothy herself is so anxious to be friends and yet has not the knack of making friends.

"She is beginning to volunteer scraps of conversation, but she is still very self-conscious when she does do. She gets very worried if anything unusual is happening, and she is not constantly reassured that someone will look after her, though she is a very kindly little girl and often helps those children¹⁾ smaller than herself."

The first question that arises out of this case, is to what extent does the company of imaginary children relieve the child of his or her anxiety states. We might at once grant that even a lonely child will have his phantasies of alliance and conspiracy against the adults and other children. But as Dorothy's case shows, these do not advance the social development of the child unless they are "translated into real living. Only the actual experience of fellowship with other children, whether for positive or for negative aims, will carry him through and out of the cruder and less fruitful forms of the alliance of the children

1) For a similar case, called 'A little Grandpa' see "The Problem Child in School" pp. 135.

against adults, and further his social development by means of it." ¹⁾ The child does not get that same amount of support from his imaginary companions as from the real ones. His phantasies of loss and punishment are able to retain a far deeper hold, making him petulant and hostile to strangers.

Dorothy's comparative ease in the company of elders also shows that in her emotional development she is still at a stage where she feels children of her own age as rivals, while looks up to adults as her protectors and guides.

Another question that we have to ask is the earliest age at which the company of other children is desirable. Table 14 shows the ages up to which 9 of our children whose shyness I have attributed to lack of company, were deprived of all playmates.

TABLE 14.

	Ages up to which children had no company				
	3 years	4 years	5 years	6 years	7 years
No. of children	1	2	3	2	1

It would appear from this that company of other children is necessary at least from the third year. But Charlotte Bühler ²⁾ has shown that as early as "at about six weeks, the child begins to react to the human voice and glance differently than to all other noises and visible objects. The baby smiles." At 3 months, the infant initiates contact not only in situations in

1) "Social Development in Children." pp. 263-64.

2) "A Handbook of Child Psychology." ed. by Carl Murchison, pp. 374-406.

which he needs help, "but also in simple play situations, for the mere pleasure of it In such a case baby cries when people leave his bed or enter the room and do not pay attention to him." But contact with other children is definitely established only in the second half year. When two six months old babies are placed near each other, they begin actively to look around and actively to attract each other's attention. The one touches the other, "makes cooing sounds and interferes with his activities." Both Bühler and Reinger also observed that up to the middle of the second year, the infant is not able to keep contact with more than one companion. And even though he can have contact with more than one after this age, the group of two continues to have the preference up to 3 years.

The two- and three-year-olds, however, are still too closely orientated to adults to experience that fellow-feeling and joy of togetherness which make them dislike a common enemy. It is only with the four or five year olds that a genuine group is formed. But these four or five year olds need to have the company of other children from the very beginning, for otherwise, as Dorothy's history shows, they would find it difficult to separate themselves from their parents and adapt themselves to the company of other children. Companionship of other children, therefore, seems to be desirable since the second half year when the child begins to take active interest in the other child.

A glance at table 14 will now show the extent to which our 9 shy children were denied the opportunity to win their independence from adults. Two of these girls had an elder sister each,

but as there was rivalry between the sisters in both cases, their company was not of much value; 5 others were first borns or only children and consequently had no company till they joined some kind of kindergarten or had a brother or sister born to them. One had no company at all at the time of the present study, and one other, Ellen (5:7), already mentioned on pages 68 and 87, although she was the youngest child in a family of 3, could not enjoy their company very much, as she was too much attached to her mother. Moreover there was a difference of 3 years between Ellen and the sister elder to her, and both eldest sisters went to a school, while Ellen was left alone. It would seem, therefore, that the family alone does not always offer the same opportunities for providing company, as a well-governed Nursery School, where children of the same age are grouped together and in a large number.

OVER-STRICT DISCIPLINE.

This was responsible for producing shyness in the case of 15 per cent of my subjects; the same cause operated in the case of 10 per cent of the control group children without causing shyness. The coefficient of association.¹² (See Table 7) shows that it has not been a very important factor in causing shyness, certainly not as important as loose discipline in this study. The latter operated three times as often among the shy children as among the normal or aggressive ones, compared to one and a half times, in the case of over-strict discipline. As a matter

of fact we find that apart from defective family relationships, it has been the least important cause, not only among the environmental factors, but among all the factors producing shyness.

Strict discipline generally took the form of punishments in my cases. Children were scolded, thrashed, restricted in their movements and some were even tied with a rope, beaten with a cane or closed in a room. As might be expected, father was the chief agent in these punishments; out of 9 cases of strict discipline, the father played the principal role in 5 cases, mother in 2 cases, while both parents and nurses were responsible for one case each. Sometimes the child was petted first, but later on, owing to changed circumstances e.g. the birth of another child, he was repressed and this was particularly hard upon the child.

In dealing with an unwanted child, I stressed the need of love and security in the little child's environment. The position of a child from a strict home is much worse, for far from getting any love, he is constantly thwarted in his wishes. He identifies the world outside with his strict father at home and apart from one or two persons like the mother in most cases, for him everybody else is an enemy. A child so uncertain of his surroundings can hardly be expected to make a normal adjustment to life.

Psycho-analysts express the same idea in a different terminology. A severe discipline at home gives rise to a very strict super-ego which inhibits the child's activities at every

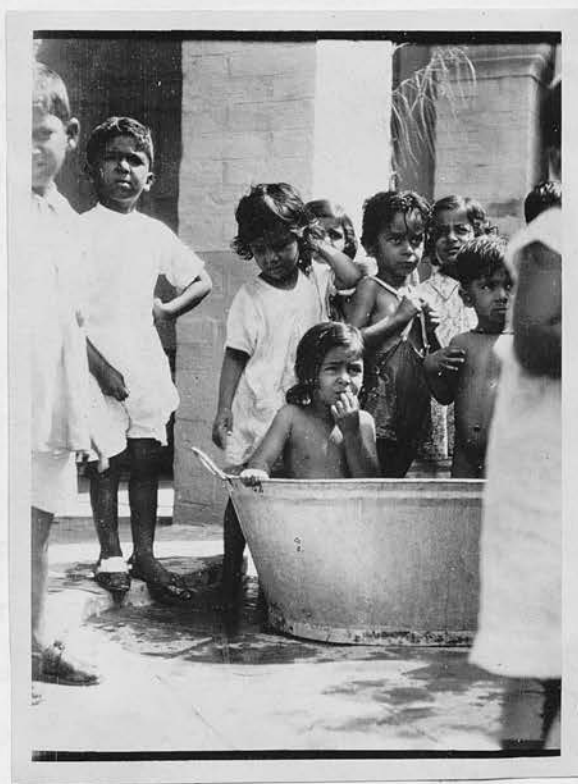
moment. Moreover, his fears of talion punishments from parents, are only too fully realised and consequently his inner dreads only get more firmly fixed.

Two things might happen to a child from a strict home.

In the first place, he is so much afraid of his parents and the world outside, that he is unable to project his super-ego on to the adults in charge. In his everyday adjustments to life, he cannot rely upon his parents to guide him. He is so much tormented by his own phantasies of parental punishments, and is so much afraid of them, that the only way out of this tension for him, is to withdraw into himself and lead a secluded and miserable life of his own. His development remains fixated at an infantile level. This is how strict discipline caused shyness among some of the children I have been studying. From certain points of view, this result has been the same as in too much pampering. A pampered child also finds the outside world cruel in comparison to what he has experienced at home.

One result of strict discipline in such cases is that the child loses all desire for self-expression. He is afraid to exhibit any form of aggressive behaviour even in such indirect ways as intellectual and social achievements. Deryana (8:0), for example, who used to be caned frequently by his father is just a backward child now and sits quiet the whole time in the class-room. The very mention of his father is enough to terrify him. Such children are not only greatly afraid of their parents, but show their silent and sullen antagonism to

all social authority. They need considerable encouragement and reassurance before they would get over their fears. Their inner lack of security may make them restless and they may have no powers of concentration. Many a time they feel themselves lost and in their search for a support, get fixated at any person or interest they find handy. Generally it is not all the family members who are strict upon the child, and any person who shows the least sympathy to the child is welcomed.



Children in Bal-Mandir enjoying a tub-bath. Seated in the tub is Dhanvanti (4:10), shy and unsocial but very intelligent and independent. Her shyness is the result of strict discipline on the part of father who comes home from abroad every six months.

Ansoya (7:0), for example, already mentioned on page 71, and who, on the birth of her brother, was repressed by her mother, has now become too much dependent upon her aunties with whom she is living, in the absence of her parents. She would come to school only in the company of one of them and once she is with any one of them, she would not like to leave her. Her face betrays her sense of insecurity, she has no powers of initiative and originality and according to her teacher, instead of attending to her class-work herself, she asks one of her neighbours to do it for her. She is very sensitive and if anybody reproaches her, she at once stares at the person in silence. She hates a person who does not love her. Her whole life is summoned up in her own words when,

during one of her attacks of fever, she said to her aunt, "You give me bitter pills, whereas my father gave me sweet pills." Everybody except the father, is, like the mother, her enemy.

The main factor in causing timidity in the case of Rita (12:8), I.Q. 92.1, who also has already been mentioned on page 71, in connection with jealousy with her younger sister, has also been hard discipline on the part of her father during the first 8 years of her life. Since then the father has transferred his hostility to his son, now 9 years old. This hardship at home has been supplemented by strict discipline at her old school, and the fact that when between one and two years Rita used to scream regularly for an hour or so, on the advice of the village doctor, she was left alone to do so. The result of leaving the child alone when screaming, as we know it

now, is that the child only gets into further panic and is only confirmed in his phantasies of a hard-hearted and cruel world.



Rita, at the age of about 7½ years.
Her shyness has been the result of
father's strict discipline.

One of the results of father's harshness has been that Rita has got more and more attached to her mother, so much so that although nearly 13, she sometimes clings to her mother when the latter wishes her good night. She has also hated the idea of growing up ever since she became conscious of it and has a tremendous sense of inferiority. She day-dreams a lot mostly about "secret country" or "fairyland". Anybody can enter it by just going down the bottom of his bed. This "secret country"

is just a replica of this world, only that it is mostly inhabited by children for whom Rita has a passion. Close by this country is an island where only witches, goblins and ogres live. They fight, kill and eat one another. If anybody goes to that island, he turns out to be one of the goblins or witches, but he becomes his own self again, on coming out of this island. Rita herself and both her mummy and daddy have often been there. Rita has also a painting book in which she has painted a number of children who would attend her Kindergarten she hopes to start when she grows old. She is also very religious and has a chapel of her own in one of the corners of her nursery-room with pictures of child Christ hanging on the walls.¹⁾

This intensely phantastic life represents a flight from the real world which has been too hard upon Rita. Her phantasies of a fairy-land and an island might be the two kinds of discipline that she meets in her environment - the loving mother, looking after her little children and the hard-hearted father wanting to devour her. Rita has now identified herself with her mother, but the insecurity of her early life makes her feel that she might lose her at any moment; this explains her present extreme dependence upon the mother and the timidity of her behaviour.

In some cases, the results of strict discipline, however, are quite the opposite of what I have been considering here so far. The child from a strict home, may continue to be afraid

1) See Appendix for Rita's story about "Why should you care?" It was written on a morning after Rita had thought that she was going to lose her mother and told her mother that God had come to her on the previous night

of her hard-hearted father, but such may be the inborn urge in him for self-expression, that he is driven to defying all authority that comes in his way. His "Sthenic" instincts and emotions have been denied their proper outlets and far from withdrawing into himself, he falls in delinquent ways. I have already quoted the examples of Mohini (12:8) and Kamla (8:0), two sisters among the control-group children. It was found that Mohini was an aggressive child and Kamla had so far been normal, though it was suspected that if the father's strict discipline continued, she might also turn out to be aggressive. There is a third sister, just elder to Kamla, by name Shantu (10:0) who has been included among my shy cases. According to father while Mohini and Kamla possessed the same forward temperament when born, Shantu was like her other two elder sisters, and unlike Mohini and Kamla, very quiet. As a matter of fact, while Shantu was still in the womb, mother did not feel her presence, as if she were a mere hair. Right from the beginning, she was also taught to take interest in household work. There does not seem to be the least doubt that Shantu's shy quiet temperament can be partly explained by her inborn quiet nature, being still more repressed by her father's hard discipline. Her early training in household work under the guidance of the eldest sister, seems to be an additional factor in moulding her personality.

Which of the two attitudes the child adopts, thus mainly depends upon whether the child's inborn tendency is towards

introversion or extroversion.

It is interesting to analyse how two opposite factors like weak and strict discipline could produce the same result. In the case of weak discipline, so much is being done for the child and he is in the company of the same person for such a length of time, that he gets no opportunities of developing his character and remains fixated at an infantile stage. In the case of strict discipline, on the contrary, the child gets so little love and encouragement that he finds his position most insecure and it becomes difficult for him to adapt himself to what, according to him, is an antagonistic environment. The petted child is too much dependent upon adults and lacks that confidence in himself which comes from overcoming small difficulties and doing things for oneself. The child from a strict home, on the other hand, also lacks confidence, for his inherent tendency to do things and be active, has been nipped in the bud.

Taking both shy and control groups together, weak discipline has operated in the case of 41.1 per cent of children compared with 13.3 per cent of children who came from strict homes. These figures are, to a very great extent, the result of the small ages of our subjects, for it is natural that there are more chances of very young children being petted than the bigger ones who do not behave as their parents want them and are more likely to experience strict discipline than weak. But these figures might also represent the extreme change-over that might have

taken place from the strict discipline of former times.

The coefficient of association between shyness and weak discipline was .42, whereas it was only .12 between shyness and strict discipline. Can any satisfactory explanation be given for the fact that severe discipline was a less potent cause of shyness, than an easy-going.

In the first place, strict discipline, as we saw, in many cases may call forth an immediate "challenging counterstroke" on the part of the child and far from withdrawing into himself, he may show an open defiance of authority. In the case of weak discipline, however, specially in the case of very young children, their immediate response is to accept it willingly and become a prey to its vitiating atmosphere. A withdrawing attitude follows much more naturally and frequently from a weak discipline than from an over-strict one.

In the second place, the withdrawing attitude of children from strict homes has not the same firm hold upon all of them, as it has in the case of pampered children. For it must be remembered that this withdrawing attitude is surcharged with antagonism towards authority. The daily nagging in their homes, may at any time carry this antagonism to such a pitch that a small incident may serve as a spark and the child may express his former pent-up defiance openly.

DEFECTIVE FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS.

This has been the least important of the environmental factors, occurring in 6.7 per cent of our shy children (see Table 10). Only in 1 case out of 4 was it a major cause of producing shyness and the coefficient of association, zero, also shows that this factor operated among the same percentage of normal children, without causing shyness.

While discussing the psychological factors I stressed the importance of love in the child's environment. If for any reason, the mother is absent during this early developmental period, the child acquires a sense of insecurity. He is left a victim to his inner dreads and phantasies which the mother is not present to relieve by her tender care. In two of my cases where the mother was absent, the children were just two and one and a half years old respectively and her position was taken by the grandmother in one case and a nurse in a day-nursery in the other. In the first place, generally these foster-parents do not give the same attention to the child as a real mother and in the second place, it is rather difficult for the young child to make a sudden adaptation to the new people. There might easily be a conflict in the child's mind, specially if the new guardian represents a different kind of discipline. If he is again constantly passed from one hand to another, he gets no opportunity to build up any desirable habits and sentiments which give stability of character. The absence of father might also imply

that there is no "controlling hand" in the child's environment and he has no ideal to work upon. He gets too much fixated upon the mother with all its undesirable results we have already noted.

SHYNESS AND POSITION OF THE CHILD

IN THE FAMILY.

Before passing on to discuss the subsequent development of shy children in whose cases one or other of the environmental factors has been operating, we must consider whether shyness and other similar forms of behaviour have any special relationship to the position of the child in the family. Table 12 on page 81 shows this relationship. It will be remembered that the first horizontal row shows the percentage of shy, and normal or aggressive children found among the first borns, only children, middle children and the youngest children. At first glance the figures show that shy children are pretty much equally divided among the first borns, middle children and the youngest children. But to argue like that is to assume that on the average there were 3 children per family in the cases referred to here. This is not true, for the number of children per family works out to be 4.18. If shyness had been equally divided among the 3 sets of our shy children, the figure for middle children would have been not 38.3, but at least 50 per cent. This proves that shy quiet children were found more among our

first borns and youngest children than among the middle ones and more among youngest children than among the first borns.

From the point of view of their position in the family, our control group figures are not quite representative, for really they ought to be something like 25 per cent first children 50 per cent middle children and 25 per cent youngest children. We have already compared our figures for the shy children with this ideal control group.

But considering that among our shy group, there were children from families with one or two children only, i.e. with no middle children, the above comparison between the shy group and the ideal control group is not quite valid. I have consequently eliminated all only children and children from families with two children, from the figures in the second horizontal row in table 12. But as a result of this elimination, the number of children per family rises from 4 to 5 and consequently our new ideal control group¹⁾ will consist of 20 per cent eldest children, 60 per cent middle children and 20 per cent youngest children. Comparing these two sets of figures in the shy and the control-group, we find that there were twice as many shy youngest children as normal or aggressive youngest children, but there were only half as many shy eldest children as normal or aggressive eldest children. In families with more than 2 children, therefore, shyness was more common among youngest children than among middle children,

1) A real ideal control group should give us figures of eldest, only, middle and youngest children among a representative group of 100 children. But according to the Registrar-General, such figures do not exist.

and it was more frequent among middle children than among eldest¹⁾. This result, however, might have been biased to some extent by the fact that most of my subjects were very young in age.

The figures in the third horizontal row in table 12 give some details as to why, taken as a whole, shyness was found more among the youngest and the first borns than among the middle children. We find that 43.2 per cent of our shy children whose shyness was due to pampering were either youngest children or first-borns. As the fourth horizontal row in the same table shows, this means that 81 per cent of petted shy children were either first-borns or youngest children, 44 per cent youngest and 37 per cent first-borns.

The only general conclusion at which one can arrive from the present data, is that in families with more than two children, the order of incidence of shyness and other allied conditions, seems to be, youngest, middle, and first children.

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT.

Most of our shy children who were affected by one or other of the environmental factors, were in some way or other, suffering from a sense of insecurity. Vicious home and over-strict discipline openly created an insecure world for the child, while

- 1) One of the reasons why shyness is found more among middle children than among the eldest ones in these families, might be the less attention which they receive than their elder and younger brothers and sisters.

lack of company and loose discipline produced the same result more indirectly.

For a better development of the child, it is not enough that the various factors making for insecurity should come to an end. For example, George Prior's (4:7) drunkard father is dead, but although he has been in the nursery school for full one year, he still continues to be absolutely dumb there. Rita's (12:8) father has stopped showing any hostility to her, but Rita is by no means free from her diffidence.

During my interviews with parents, most of them were in no way perturbed by the shy, quiet nature of their children and seemed to take it for granted; they thought that the child would spontaneously come out of his shyness when he or she grew up a little bit more. There is no doubt that contact with the outside world to a certain extent rubs the corners off the child. Arnold Gesell has also emphasised the idea of "growth" in the child's development. By this he means "a progressive differentiation and integration of the action system and behaviour patterns of the total organism" which "keeps the almost infinite fortuities of physical and social environment from dominating the organism of the developing individual."¹⁾ In simple language this comes to saying that growing up to a certain extent offsets some of the undesirable results of a defective environment. But the parents, teachers and other adults, by encouraging or

1) 'Maturation and the Patterning of Behaviour' by Arnold Gesell, in "Handbook of Child Psychology."

tolerating the depending or withdrawing attitude of the child, not only make it difficult for the child to give up his shyness, but on the contrary strengthen him in persisting in these attitudes. Side by side, therefore, with the removal of the root causes of shyness and other similar conditions, more positive methods, aimed at making good the harm done by these causes, have to be undertaken, if the child is to feel secure and confident of his powers.

It was seen that Rita had found a solace from the hostility of her father in her mother. Although, fortunately, this mother does not try to pamper her daughter, but provides the necessary security for her whenever she needs it, Rita has grown very much dependent upon her mother. It is only recently that she is trying to transfer part of her attachment for her mother to the headmistress of her new school. This is of course due to the encouragement which the headmistress gives Rita from time to time. But another encouraging feature about Rita's life is that although she is backward in most of her school-work, she is very good at painting and handwork. She makes nice tiny mice and other animals from cloth, which are very much appreciated by her class-mates and who like to be her friends. This gives a much needed confidence to Rita and what is wanted is that she should continue to have great support and encouragement both at home and in the school, which would consolidate her personality ¹⁾.

1) The teacher in her new school wrote about Rita - "I find Rita to be a child who apparently lives in a dream-world. This is chiefly a world of art - drawing and painting - here she is alive and enthusiastic. She loves these subjects and seems to find no activity of this kind fatiguing. Concentration, where ^{she} is not deeply interested, Rita seems to find difficult . . . Rita seems to me a sensitive and impressionable child, easily frightened, but not so easily made confident. She seems readily affectionate "

Children of Rita's personality go on very well for some time, but the moment they are faced by any obstacle or crisis, they feel greatly upset and unless given special help, may break down under its stress. They want some time free from all obstacles, when under some wise parent or teacher, their special talents might be discovered and fostered, which would make them confident and proud of themselves. Merely leaving them alone, even though the root cause of their fear has been eliminated, as many of my cases show, does not seem to cure them of their reserve.

In cases of petting, the child expects the same kind of treatment in the outside world as in the home. Such a child is particularly inclined to cling to the teacher when he joins a nursery school, for example. Generally a few months are sufficient for the child to give up this clinging attitude, but most of them find it difficult to adapt themselves completely to the new environment of the nursery school. These mothers' darlings do not play or mix much with other children but lead exclusive lives of their own. Some of them, although they would not mix with others, would at the same time live an active but independent lives of their own. Tommy Bell (5:6), I.Q. 112.8 and who is remarkably good at drawing, for example, would be always busy doing something, but he is very rarely in the company of other children. In most of these cases, the children are particularly gifted and must find some outlet for their talents. Four of our Indian grown-up boys and girls, whose shyness was the result of too much petting, are still dependent upon adults and are

unsocial; this is of course due to the fact that they are still favourites with their parents and no steps have been taken to break their shyness. There were, however, two instances of shy petted children who had somewhat come out of their shyness, partly as a result of their nursery school experience.

Jean Robertson (3:5) (P.R. 23), already mentioned on page 83, when first studied in a nursery school, was a shy, unsocial child. She had been 16 months in the school, but was still hesitating in her movements; in order to avoid me - a stranger to her, she took a roundabout way and when somebody destroyed her sand-castle, she did not say anything. She was again observed 8 months later, when she had been 2 years in the nursery school. While before she had refused to talk to me, now she came of her own accord and put her arms round my legs. The teacher also reported a distinct change in her; she took part in all school activities and helped in washing up things. Mother also reported that since she had been allowed to use the big bath in the school, she had thought that her elder brother Tommy (6:1) who was responsible for keeping back her social development, was too young for her and she stuck to him, only because he was so kind to her. Really she would like to be in the company of her eldest sister. Billy Rayburn (4:7) (P.R. 60) is another child who has up till recently been made much of by his mother. She herself is inclined to be nervous, for on the sight of dogs and horses in the street, she would run and hide herself, dragging Billy with herself. When outside, if mother left him for a

minute, he would scream. For three weeks, he used to cry when brought in the play-centre by mother, nearly a year ago. According to the teacher, he also clung to her overall for the first 3 months and was the shyest of all the children. Now, Billy takes great interest in his play-centre, plays a great deal and did not mind coming and being tested by me or talking to me by himself. But his shyness has by no means left him altogether. He does not like to go and play with other children in the neighbourhood till his elder sister has returned from school to keep him company. Apart from his play-centre experience, the recent birth of a brother, is also making Billy more self-reliant.

Early petting, is thus, on the whole, a great hindrance to children's subsequent development. On the one hand we have to consider the degree of petting, the person responsible for petting and the time for which it has lasted: on the other, the child's natural capacities which are urging him to be free from the bondage of his parents, and be independent. If petting has been excessive, continued for a long time and by mother or some other person who has to deal most with the child and the child has no outstanding abilities, one might say that such a child will continue to show a dependent and hesitating attitude throughout his life. Most of us are creatures of habit and when a child has acquired habits of unsociability, shyness and dependence upon others, he would not leave them very soon. There are, however, two ways in which this may be partly brought about. The person with whom child is too much attached can regularly

train him to be more self-reliant and social. This training, will no doubt, be difficult if the habits are old and are firmly established. In the second place certain circumstances, e.g. education, might arouse the inherent powers of the child and the successes achieved in particular lines might give him at least some confidence in himself.

As regards the subsequent development of children whose shyness has been mainly or partly due to lack of company, we saw from the teacher's report about Dorothy (7:4) that although she has had the company of other children during the last two and a half years, "she hasn't the knack of making friends." Also in spite of her superior intelligence (I.Q. 127.3), she is reported to have "very little originality and is only learning very slowly to rely on herself and have more confidence in her own abilities." If, in spite of her great intelligence and 2½ years' contact with other children, a gifted child like Dorothy has still no confidence in herself, one can imagine the plight of those children who have been deprived of company and have neither great intelligence nor any other great talents to show. Such children may continue to lack any initiative or self-confidence all through their lives.

The great Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore also passed through a very repressed and lonely childhood. But, as he writes, "The companionship of my fifth brother made it possible for me to shake off my shrinking sensitiveness. It was as necessary for my soul after its rigorous repression during my infancy as are the monsoon clouds after a fiery summer. But for such

snapping of my shackles, I might have become crippled for my life." ¹⁾

- 1) "Reminiscences" pp. 127. At another place in the same book, the poet says, "So in my poetical career, when the rainy season was in the ascendant there were only my vapourous fancies which stormed and showered; my utterance was misty, my verses were wild . . . Then, in the commerce with the world of reality, both language and metre attempted definiteness and variety of form."

	SEX				SYMBOL OF ADULTHOOD			
	BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS	
	Major	Minor	Major	Minor	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Conventional Heart	3.7	1.1	1.1	1.1	3.7	1.1	1.1	1.1
Enlarged un- folded R- ventricle	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Enlarged glomeruli	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Over-developed all organs 11.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Enlarged R- ventricle	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
Total	11.1	7.2	7.2	11.1	11.1	7.2	7.2	11.1

CHAPTER 7. PHYSICAL FACTORS.

Table 15 shows that in 24 per cent or one-fourth of my cases, physical factors were either the major or minor cause of shyness; in 10 per cent of cases, they were major causes and in 14 per cent minor. But as the coefficient of association .17 in table 7 shows, among the three sets of causal factors, they were the least important. Table 15 gives five different physical condition for causing shyness.

Table 15. Physical Factors.

	SHY					NORMAL OR AGGRESSIVE		
	BOYS		GIRLS		Aver.	Boys	Girls	Aver.
	Major Factor	Minor Factor	Major Factor	Minor Factor				
Congenital Heart	3.7	-	-	-	1.7	-	-	-
Enlarged tonsils or adenoids.	-	-	3	9.1	6.7	23.1	-	10
Enlarged glands	-	-	3	-	1.7	-	-	-
Over-developed physically	3.7	-	-	-	1.7	-	-	-
Chronic illness	3.7	7.4	3	9.1	11.8	7.7	-	3.3
Total	11.1	7.4	9	18.2	23.6	30.8	-	13.3

One child Harrison (1:6) is suffering from congenital heart. Ever since his birth he has had breathless attacks lasting about 3 minutes and during which the child becomes cyanosed. On account of his weak heart, the child is unable to stand or walk and is confined to one place most of the time. Added to this is the fact that the child has been away from his parents at 3 different times, during his short life of 18 months, living either with neighbours or in a hospital. Consequently he has not had any opportunity to adapt himself to his surroundings. If he is placed in front of other children, his first reaction is to resent this change and cry. The child feels so lost that he would not play much with a toy that is given to him.

Enlarged tonsils and adenoids, by causing difficulty in breathing and hearing, have the effect of making a child dull. These physical disabilities check his natural tendency to play and thus come in contact with other children. He shrinks from his playmates and clings to adults. This, for example, appears to be the main cause in making Betty Cunningham (3:7) (P.R. 16), already mentioned on page 96, a sensitive and dependent child. She has been a year in a nursery school, but has never so far uttered a single word to her teacher. But at the same time she always likes to be near her. Once she was asked by teacher to remain downstairs along with other children who were playing. But no sooner had the teacher gone up, than Betty also joined her.

One Indian child Herderi (4:10) had enlarged glands both on the right and left side of the neck. She was also underweight, though looked quite well-developed from outside. The mother has also

been suffering from tuberculosis of the intestines, since the last four years. Once in a game of pulling each other, a boy much smaller both in size and years than Herdevi, pulled her to his side and Herdevi began to cry. It is clear that during her similar daily contacts with other children, Herdevi's poor physique is a great handicap to her and would breed feelings of inferiority and lack of self-confidence in her.

An Indian boy (3:7) was too fat for his years and although would take part in games when encouraged to do so, would soon get tired and would go and sit down. This meant less contacts with other children and no joy or confidence in himself which comes out of doing things.

12 per cent of children, i.e. half the number of children whose shyness was mainly or partly due to physical factors, were suffering from chronic illnesses. The result was that the child got less opportunities for play and coming in contact with other children and adults. One child (4:0) (P.R. 23) could hardly eat or drink or cry much for the first three months, until he underwent an operation for "tongue-tie". In addition he had itching in his nose, worms in his stomach and also had passed through the usual children's illnesses. The result was that he was a quiet, unsocial and timid child at school, and at home, showed great impatience and irritation.

Another result of these chronic illnesses is, that the child gets too much dependent upon adults and the pampering and petting that generally follow, lead to the undesirable results

I have already discussed. As Gesell has said, "Children learn life lessons from illness." Charlie O'Malley (4:7) I.Q. 85, one of the Edinburgh Nursery School children, for example, has had three attacks of pneumonia, one of diphtheria and an accident in which he severely hurt himself and was confined to bed for five weeks. Except in diphtheria, the child was treated in his home, for parents thought that in a hospital with so many other sick children, Charlie would not get the same attention!

The general effect of these physical disabilities appears to be that these unfortunate children are deprived of that remarkable joy, pride and exhilaration that come out of bodily activities and go to make children happy, independent and full of self-confidence in their powers.

CHAPTER 8. SHYNESS AND INTELLIGENCE.

Out of 33 shy British Kindergarten children 20 were given Dr. Stutsman's Merrill-Palmer tests for pre-school children. These children were first tested in the various nursery schools and play-centres, but for a variety of reasons, the results were not quite satisfactory; in the first place there was a lack of rapport between the children and me because of their withdrawing nature, and in the second place I was not familiar enough with the tests. The median percentile rank of these 20 children after the first testing came to 17.5, classified as inferior intelligence by Stutsman. 19 out of these 20 children were, therefore, retested after an interval of 3 to 9 months, this time in their homes. Care was, of course, taken to see that the parents did not in any way spoil the test. The median percentile rank of all the 20 children after this retesting came to 26.2.

Out of the remaining 13 Kindergarten children, 11 were given the Stanford-Binet tests; the other 2, who were 18 and 21 months old respectively, were so inhibited that they refused to be tested.

All the 8 shy children from St. Trinnean's School were also given the Stanford-Binet tests. There being no intelligence tests available for Sindhi Indian children, none of them were tested. In all, therefore, out of 60 shy children, 39 were given one or other intelligence test. (Table 16).

Table 16. Intelligence Tests.

	No. of children given Merrill- Palmer tests.	No. of children given Stanford- Binet tests.	Total
Kindergarten group	20	11	31
St. Trinnean's group	-	8	8
Grand Total	20	19	39

From the scores obtained by the 20 Kindergarten children, the percentile rank of each child was found out by referring to table 30 in Stutsman's publication, "Mental Measurement of Preschool Children."¹⁾ Stutsman has classified the percentiles²⁾ into the following 5 classes:-

P.R.	Classification
1 to 4	very inferior
5 to 19	superior
20 to 79	average
80 to 94	superior
95 to 99	very superior.

Table 17 gives the classification of 20 Kindergarten subjects according to their percentiles. The various scores were not interpreted in terms of the intelligence quotient, for as Stutsman says in her book that such an interpretation "assumes that the variability in terms of mental age increases at an

1) Pp. 240. Published by World Book Company, N.Y. 1932.

2) Pp. 234.

Table 17. Distribution of Percentiles in Merrill-Palmer Test-Scale.

Percentiles	No. of Children	Classification
1 - 4	1	Very Inferior Inferior
4 - 9	2)	
15 - 19	2)	
20 - 24	5)	Average
25 - 29	1)	
30 - 34	4)	
35 - 39	1)	
40 - 44	1)	
50 - 54	2)	
60 - 64	1)	
Total	20	

Median Percentile = 26.2
Average I.Q. = 88.71

evenly progressive rate with zero as an origin. Although this should possibly be true with an ideal scale, it is not true with the present Merrill-Palmer scale.¹⁾ According to her "interpretation of the score by standard deviation in terms of score value or mental-age value and interpretation by percentile rank are preferable to interpretation in terms of the intelligence quotient."

The median percentile rank for our group of children - 26.2 - compares most unfavourably with the median percentile ranks of 5 other different American groups tested by Stutsman (see Table 18)

1) Ibid Pp. 235.

Table 18. Median percentiles in Merrill-Palmer Test scale, of different groups of children.

From Stutsman.

American Children

	Merrill-Palmer Nursery School	Merrill-Palmer Waiting List	Schools	Child-care Agencies	Health Clinics	"Edinburgh Kindergarten Group."
Total No. of Cases.	131	189	94	100	67	20
Median Percent- iles.	74.7	52.5	48.3	38.3	52.5	26.2

Except for the Merrill-Palmer nursery school children, children from all the other four groups had been used for standardization purposes. The Child-Care Agencies group which has the lowest percentile rank among the American children in the above table, includes children from orphanages, day-nurseries and other child-care agencies. In some ways this group of children corresponds to our 20 children and a number of explanations could be given for these low percentile ranks.

Table 18 shows that the percentile rank varies according to the social environment from which a particular group of children comes. But according to Stutsman, the Merrill-Palmer nursery school and waiting-list groups "are the only two groups included in the study which are sufficiently similar in social level to

warrant attributing the difference in test score to the environmental factor alone." ¹⁾ She does not take the differences between the other groups seriously, owing to the relatively small number of cases. Now it must be remembered that the two Merrill-Palmer groups came from good middle-class homes, neither under-privileged nor over-privileged in their home circumstances. The difference between their median percentile ranks could only be attributed to the Nursery School training which one group had received. One must also take into account the fact that the Merrill-Palmer School children are used to a lot of testing and are very familiar with the test material. Comparing the percentile ranks of all the five groups, Stutsman concludes, "The analysis shows that the family and home background of the child ²⁾ must be considered in interpreting his test score."

In Chapter 15 on "Related Factors in judging the Mental Level," the author goes on to show how the scores can be affected by the heredity, physical conditions and the home environment of the child. Regarding physical conditions, she gives the example of a girl, J.D. who at the age of 4 years had a percentile rank of 26. Also during examination, she "tended to make peremptory commands in an insistent tone, which suggested that she was imitating someone at home." Her physical examination showed that the child's tonsils were "enlarged, ragged and infected;" also the submaxillary glands and the thyroid were enlarged. The child was re-examined after a year and was found to have a

1) Ibid. pp. 117.

2) Ibid. pp. 120.

percentile rank of 65. During the interval, the child had taken iodine and the mother had also shown more patience and consistency in her training.

As regards home-environment, Stutsman gives the example of a boy J.E., age 3 years, 1 month at the time of admission to the Merrill-Palmer School. J.E. came from a home where father was ignorant and could speak very little English and the mother was deaf. The following table shows the improvement in the child's performance after living in the stimulating environment of the school for 2½ years.

Age		Performance in Merrill-Palmer tests. P.R.
2 years 1 month - one year before joining school		10
3 " 3 " - one month after being at school		25
4 " 1 " - eleven months " " " "		70
4 " 7 " - Seventeen " " " " "		53
5 " 2 " - Two years " " " " "		57

The Stanford-Binet test also showed some increase during his school career.

It must now be recalled that our group of 20 kindergarten children came from some of the poorest homes, where there was a lot of unemployment, poverty, overcrowding and some drunkenness with the consequent undesirable effects on the mental life of children. It is true that some of these children went to Nursery Schools, but out of 20, 11 went to play-centres or day-

nurseries where children were either for a very short time (2 hours in play-centres) or the environment was not so stimulating. Also two of these children had just been for a week in a play-centre when they were tested. In some of these nursery schools, moreover, children from the worst possible homes were given preference. Their heredity also cannot be said to be very good and out of these 20 children, at least 4 had some physical ailment at the time of testing.

That children from better classes usually rank superior on ordinary intelligence tests is no new fact. Several investigations in America, England and other countries have shown that children from private schools, make higher scores than those from schools attended by the masses ¹⁾, that a distinct relationship exists between the scores of children and the education received by their parents ²⁾, that the intelligence-test scores vary according to the occupation of their parents, the children from the professional classes ranking highest on the average and those from the working classes, lowest ³⁾. Moreover, as the present study shows - and this has been corroborated by other writers ⁴⁾ - these differences are found even among the pre-school

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- 1) J.E. Anderson's "The Intelligence of a highly selected group." School and Society, 1922, 6, 1-28.
 - 2) F.L. Goodenough's "The relationship of the intelligence of pre-school children to the education of their fathers." School and Society. 1927.
 - 3) M.E. Haggerty and H.B. Nash's "Mental Capacity of Children and paternal occupation." J. Ed. Psych. 1924.
 - 4) F.L. Goodenough's "The relation of the Intelligence of children to the occupation of their fathers." Amer. J. Psychol. 1929, 40, 284-294.

children.

The common opinion attributes the superior performance of a child from a cultured home entirely to his better home conditions. But practically all the investigations which have been made on the relative influence of nature and nurture, including the one ¹⁾ based on the Stanford data obtained in connection with the revision of the Binet-Simon tests "agree in supporting the conclusion that children of successful and cultured parents test higher than children from wretched and ignorant homes for the simple reason that their heredity is better." ²⁾ The parents occupy high social position because of their rich endowment of character and intelligence. ^{To say} /this, is, of course, not to deny the influence of environment upon intelligence, but where environmental differences are ordinary, their influence is not very great. But in so far as intelligence is affected by environment, this study shows that it plays its part from a very early age. One of the 5 years old St. Trinnean's girls, Phyllis, (whose photo appears on page 93) had a percentile rank of 80, i.e. she had "superior" intelligence, possessed by none of the 20 Kindergarten children. ³⁾ This shows that the Merrill-Palmer tests do

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- 1) "The Stanford Revision and Extension of the Binet-Simon Measuring Scale of Intelligence" (Warwick and York, 1916)
 - 2) "The Measurement of Intelligence," Pp. 115.
 - 3) Phyllis's score in the Merrill-Palmer tests is not included in the scores of 20 Kindergarten children. Her P.R. of 80, roughly corresponds to an I.Q. of 123.3. Her I.Q. according to the Stanford-Binet tests worked out to be 115.8. But on account of her shy nature, it was apparent that she was not doing justice to herself in this test.

measure higher intelligence. Phyllis's high score is no doubt due to her superior natural powers and her better social and material environment.

In the case of all these 20 Kindergarten children, moreover, there were a definite set of environmental or psychological factors retarding their development on normal lines. As Stutsman says, "The child inherits definite possibilities of development, and his actual development in many respects falls far short of the possibilities. His innate abilities are called forth only by appropriate stimuli. If he is restricted in opportunities, handicapped by lack of training, and lost in a maze of emotional maladjustment, he cannot be expected to respond to the test situation as well as he might have done under more favourable circumstances."¹⁾ Our 20 children again were of the shy quiet nature, not quite confident of themselves when doing the tests; some of them cried before allowing themselves to be tested. They were slow and hesitating in their movements and time is a very great factor in the Merrill-Palmer tests. When it came to answering questions or using language, some of them were absolutely dumb. They refused also to perform any movements of their bodies, e.g. in the Closing Fist and Moving Thumb tests. But there is provision in the tests whereby allowance is made for these refusals and one might say that hardly any scores were adversely affected by these refusals. They only show the shy nature of our subjects.

1) Ibid. Pp. 287.

Collecting the various threads together, one could give at least 5 reasons for the small percentile rank of 20 Kindergarten children -

(1) Their poor natural endowment. The proof for this is that a number of workers in this field have found that children of lower classes have on an average low intelligence.

(2) Their poor and sometimes wretched home environment coupled with their unstimulating school environment and unfamiliarity with test-material. Proof that intelligence as measured by the Merrill-Palmer ^{test} is dependent upon environment is given by Stutsman's own results with the Merrill-Palmer, School and Waiting-list groups.

(3) Physical disabilities of some of the children.

(4) Emotional troubles of children might have served as an inhibitory factor.

(5) Slow movements of children because of their shy quiet nature.

It is, of course, impossible to say in what proportions these various factors were represented. But as I said in the beginning of this chapter, 11 more Kindergarten children who came from more or less the same social class as the above 20 children, were given Stanford-Binet tests. Their average I.Q. came to 103 (Standard Deviation 7.52) compared to 88.71 (Standard Deviation 8.55) of the 20 Kindergarten children. How is this discrepancy to be explained? We cannot attribute it to pure chance, for the difference between 88.71 and 103 is very "significant!"

The difference between these two averages is $\frac{14.29}{2.966}$ which is $\frac{14.29}{2.966}$ or 4.8 times its standard error ¹⁾. A number of other explanations, however, could be given. In the first place we have to see the extent to which the above 5 reasons are applicable in the case of these 11 children. Presumably they had about the same heredity as the 20 other Kindergarten children. But 10 children out of 11 at the time of testing were attending either a regular nursery school or were in the infant departments of primary schools. This meant that their school environment was far richer than that of their 20 companions. But it is now agreed that the Stanford-Binet tests are almost free from environmental influences of that sort. ²⁾ As regards the home environments of the two groups, although on the whole it was the same, there were 3 or 4 children among 20 children who lived in particularly depressing homes, with great overcrowding. The question of the unfamiliarity with the test material or the slow movements of subjects in the Stanford-Binet tests, of course, does not arise in the case of 11 children. None of these 11 children moreover, were suffering from any physical disabilities and although they were suffering from the same emotional inhibitions as the other 20 children, 7 out of 11 were above 5 years in age and consequently did not show the same amount of negative attitude.

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- 1) This is calculated according to the formula on Pp. 105-106 in Dawson's "An Introduction to the Computation of Statistics." University of London Press; 1933.
 - 2) This statement is particularly true about children under 6 or 7 years, for as Mr. Hugh Gordon showed, while Stanford-Binet tests did not measure native ability among older children, apart from schooling, they perhaps did so for children under 6 or 7.

The average I.Q. of 7 children over 5 years came to 104.4 compared to an I.Q. of 100.6 for children below 5. But although the majority of these children were less inhibited, there were 2 or 3 children who apparently did not do themselves full justice, for the Stanford-Binet tests imply more of an adaptation to a social situation than the Merrill-Palmer tests and these shy quiet children were not so good at this kind of adaptation.

Apart from the physical factors and the slow movements of the children given the Merrill-Palmer tests, the only other important valid reason for the low intelligence of these 20 children, therefore, would be that these tests do not eliminate the influence of home and school environment altogether.¹⁾ They also contain material with which the child from a very poor home and unstimulating school has not many opportunities to play. Anyway the question whether the Merrill-Palmer tests are suited to children from very depressed areas, needs further investigation.

Unfortunately time did not permit of testing all the Kindergarten children in the control group. But three children who had their twin brother or sister in the shy-group were tested, with the following results expressed as their percentile ranks.

1) This argument might be valid in spite of the fact that Stutsman got a very high correlation of 0.793 ± 0.019 between Merrill-Palmer and Stanford-Binet tests, for 159 children tested for standardization of the former tests.

	Shy	Normal
May and Jean Becker	30	60
Robert and James Finlayson	50	9
Isabel and Margaret Forrest	53	63

Of course, one cannot draw any far-reaching conclusions from such a small number. But these figures may mean that shy, inhibited, very young children do not fare so well, at least in the test-situations, as the free children. The comparatively higher percentile ranks of two normal children above may also mean that the Merrill-Palmer tests do not, after all, very much depend upon the child's environment. If the first explanation is true, and, as we saw, this might be one of the reasons why we got a low I.Q. for 20 Kindergarten children, one would conclude that in very young children the various causal factors responsible for excessive shyness and similar conditions apparently lead to retardation of intelligence - at least as seen in the test-situation. With the early removal of these factors, there is no doubt that there will be some improvement in the intelligence scores of at least some children. That the facts were not the other way round and low intelligence caused shyness is proved by the high I.Q.'s of 19 other children - 11 Kindergarten and 8 St. Trinnean's.

In the end, I would say that the present material is not enough to test the validity of Merrill-Palmer tests. But I have raised certain questions and indicated certain lines on which such an investigation could be carried on.

The average I.Q. of 11 Kindergarten children given the Stanford-Binet test, as I have said, came to 103, the I.Q.'s varying between 117 and 85. The average I.Q. for 8 St. Trinnean's School children came 110.28. the I.Q.'s varying between 127.3 and 89.5. This difference between the two averages can mostly be attributed to the better heredity of the 8 St. Trinnean's School children. The average I.Q. for both groups of children combined comes to 106.06, with a standard deviation of 11.6. This compares very favourably with Burt's results, who found that the average mental ratio of his "repressed" cases was "107 - decidedly above that of the ordinary child." Burt also found that the average mental ratio of all his delinquent cases was only 89¹⁾. The average I.Q. of all 39 children tested, worked out to be 97.16.

I shall now consider the relationship between intelligence and the social development of the child. Bridges²⁾, working at the McGill University nursery school, devised two scales of Social and Emotional development respectively, for pre-school children. Later on 28 children in this nursery school were observed and scored on the social scale by the author, four times during several months of the school year, 1928-29. Bridges found that the rank difference coefficient of correlation between Stanford-Binet I.Q. and average Social scores for four months was only +.1. The correlation between Stutsman Performance scores and the same Social scores was -.3. Although Bridges admits that owing to the small number of cases, these coefficients have no

1) "The Young Delinquent." Pp. 556.

2) "Social and Emotional Development of the Pre-School Child." Kegan Paul. (1931).

significance, she concludes "it may be taken that the Social development scores have shown no relation to intelligence test results."¹⁾ Bridges also found that there was practically no correlation between average scores on the complete Character-Rating Chart - also devised by the author, and either the Stanford-Binet I.Q. or Stutsman performance scores.²⁾

None of my 60 subjects were scored on any of the Bridges' scales. Being a select group of a particular kind, all my subjects would have scored very low. An analysis of their intelligence scores and their social behaviour, however, shows the influence which high intelligence may have on the social behaviour of some children. For this purpose, I confine my remarks to children with an I.Q. of 110 or over. They were 10 in number. Dorothy (mentioned on page 101) and Tommy Bell (mentioned on pages 83 and 122) had an I.Q. of 127 and 113 respectively, and I have already remarked upon their extraordinary independence of character side by side with their unsociability. There is no doubt that their independence was partly the by-product of their high intelligence and on account of their inability to mix with others, they were left to their own resources. Two more children (Pauline, I.Q. 121, mentioned on page 70 and Hilary, I.Q. 111), although they did not show the same amount of independence, still had not been so completely overcome by the undesirable factors in their environments as to be entirely

1) Ibid. Pp. 219

2) Ibid. Pp. 237.

dependent, helpless and unsocial. But the remaining 6, in spite of their "superior" intelligence, showed the various withdrawing behaviour traits in a most marked degree; and all the 10 children, notwithstanding their "superior" or "very superior" intelligence, lacked confidence to mix with others. Of course, the degree of a child's social development primarily depends upon the nature of the environmental, psychological and physical factors, I have been discussing. High intelligence in itself is no safeguard against an uncongenial environment producing lack of self-confidence and unsociability in a child. If his social development has been defective in any way, intellectual achievement is no guarantee that it will help him in winning confidence. But, under certain circumstances, it may make him independent and self-reliant instead of clinging and dependent.

Broadly speaking, therefore, the social behaviour of children seems to be independent of their intellectual standards.

CHAPTER 9. CONCLUSION.

"I brought out my earthen lamp from my house and cried,
'Come, children, I will light your path!'

The night was still dark when I returned, leaving the road to its silence, crying, 'Light me, O Fire! for my earthen lamp lies broken in the dust!'"¹⁾

I have now laid down all the main factors responsible for producing lack of confidence in a child. The order of importance has been, (1) Vicious home, fixations, conflicts and complexes, each exerting an equal influence. (2) Petting, (3) Lack of company, (4) Rivalries. (5) Physical Conditions. (6) Strict discipline, and lastly (7) Defective family relationships.

Among the three types of causal factors, psychological factors have been the most important. This is as it ought to be, for after all, shyness and similar conditions, are parts of one's personality and psychological factors also describe certain aspects of one's personality. As a matter of fact environmental and physical factors have been important from our point of view only in so far as they have contributed towards producing those behaviour traits in the child's personality which have been termed as withdrawing. There ought to be, therefore, some one explanation which would connect the various causal factors and describe a state of mind, which causes shyness. This state of

1) Rabindranath Tagore in "Fruit-Gathering" p. 20.

mind may best be described by the word "Insecurity".

In Table 19, an endeavour has been made to divide the various causal factors according as they have over-protected or under-protected the child. By this I mean whether the outside world of reality has been over-indulgent or over-strict with the child.

Table 19. Classification of various Causal Factors, according as they have over- or under-protected the child. Expressed as percentage.

I. Over-Protection.		II. Under-Protection.	
Petting	53.3	Defective Family Relationships.	6.6
Fixations	10.0	Absence of Company	16.7
		Strict Discipline	15.0
		Vicious Home	5.0
		Rivalries	10.0
		Fright and Feeling of being an unwanted child.	6.6
I. Total	63.3	II. Total	59.9
III. Not Classified above.			
	Physical Factors	23.3	
	Sense of Guilt and Inferiority Feeling	3.4	
	Twin-Sister-Fixation	3.3	
	III. Total	30.0	
Grand Total of I, II and III = 153.2			

Under this classification there is no room for 30 per cent of causal factors consisting of physical factors, cases of a sense of guilt and feelings of inferiority and certain cases of fixation. Apart from these 30 per cent of factors, in the remaining 123 per cent of cases, the above classification, I think, holds good. It will be seen that on an average, these two main factors have worked equally, among the various shy children, though there have been some children who have been influenced by both factors. The under-protected children have not received enough of love and security from their environments; their growing personalities have either been starved of love and sympathy or they have been involved in a maze of conflicts, fears, anxieties and jealousies. The over-protected child, on the other hand, has received far too much, more than is good for him; he has received so much that his personality has been crippled in the process and he has nothing to fall back on. Over-protection has given him a sense of security, but it is a false sense of security. He has had no opportunities to learn the principles of cause and effect in his activities, for the petting parent has always been present to ward off any disagreeable consequences. In his subsequent contacts with reality, therefore, where parental care is absent, he feels most insecure. In the end, therefore, both over- and under-protection have resulted in the same thing - namely lack of self-confidence in the child.

Psycho-analytic theory also confirms this result. To recapitulate, the theory is that as a result of the many frustrations of his urgent and compelling desires during his early

childhood, every child comes to have a certain amount of aggressive wishes against his parents. But to have such wishes against persons whom he loves so much, produces in return a sense of guilt and fear that the parents may take revenge upon him. The net result is that the child is full of fears and anxieties. In the case of both over- and under-protected children, these fears and anxieties either find no relief or on the contrary get more confirmed. The under-protected child finds that the outside world corresponds most fittingly with his fears of talion punishments; while the over-protected child continues to be the victim of his retribution phantasies, for there is nothing either to confirm his fears or relieve him of his anxieties. The child from a normal home, on the other hand, gets enough love to convince him that his fears are groundless and at the same time he gets checked and controlled now and again which prove to him that although parents might punish him sometimes, they do not do so to the extent of killing him, as his phantasies would suggest.

The fears and anxieties which every child has about talion punishments from his parents, are part of his super-ego. This super-ego is "formed by conditioned emotional responses to the parents and through identifications with, and imitations of, the parents." In the case of under-protected children, it is obvious that this super-ego will be very severe and strict. In such cases, the therapeutic activity is to be directed towards strengthening the ego rather than the super-ego. He is to be

encouraged to a freer expression of his impulses. The over-protected child, in spite of his phantastic fears of punishment from his parents, has, on the other hand, a very lax and incomplete super-ego formation. He is to be taught gradually to control his ego-wishes and build up his super-ego.

There is thus early formed in the mind of every child a realm of phantasy entirely separated from the world of reality. The child from a normal home, however, soon brings the world of phantasy in contact with the world of reality, of his own accord. While the psychic energies of the over- and under-protected child are being absorbed in creating various forms of internal defences, thus holding up his intellectual and social development, the child from a good normal home, lays hold on life by utilizing his energies in ever-widening his interests and love. There can be no sublimations without love and the spoilt child finds the world of reality too hard for him to love it. The repressed child, on the other hand, extends his idea of a severe home to the world outside and far from adjusting himself to it, retires into himself. And such may be the force of this, his first attitude towards life, that unless he is educated to looking at life, from a better angle, he may continue to adopt this withdrawing attitude, even when subsequent events have proved to him that really it was more sympathetic than he had thought.

If we now look upon the 30 per cent of the causal factors - which we have ignored in the classification in Table 19 - from the point of view of their influence upon the growing personality

of the child, they too had most distinctly the same influence as the factors classified under 'under-protection'. They too made the child feel insecure and hesitant in making contacts with the world of reality. We, therefore, conclude that the main cause of shyness has been insecurity, whether internal or external or both. But this does not mean that feeling of insecurity will always lead to a withdrawing kind of behaviour. A child may overcompensate for his feelings of insecurity and adopt an aggressive or rebellious attitude towards society. Which of these attitudes a child will adopt in many cases depends upon the biochemical constitution of the child. On the other hand, there are some children who show both an aggressive and a withdrawing attitude by turns. An Indian boy, (16:0), not included in this study, for example, although very shy and unsocial is at the same time given to stealing, truancy and using bad language. Our generalization that shyness is the result of a feeling of insecurity, is, therefore, like all generalizations, not wholly true. But one could say that in majority of cases, a feeling of insecurity combined with a biochemical inheritance of an introvertive type seems to be the chief factor in causing excessive shyness, lack of self-confidence and allied conditions among children.

For a healthy social development of the child, it is not enough that the outside world should give him sufficient protection right from the beginning; it should at the same time be such, as to enable him to make habits of independence and self-reliance part and parcel of his personality. These are his real assets

for they are part of himself. Any spoon feeding on the part of parents, although it might give them certain emotional satisfactions, means sapping of the child's growth. Independence of action and self-reliance are the very "basis of morale" and unless the child is trained in these habits from infancy, he may not grow up to his full mental stature. From birth onwards, life is a great sacrifice. The child has to leave the warm womb of his mother for the cold atmosphere outside and adapt himself to the new conditions. But just as "the child finds its mother when it leaves her womb,"¹⁾ so also with every additional sacrifice on his part, he is enriching his personality. Growing up in the psychological sense means giving up some of the most cherished desires and making forward strides in new directions. It all depends how far the social factors in the child's environment help or hinder him in this dual task of sacrifice and progress. The child may become extraordinarily dependent, or tyrannical or spoilt and find growing up most irksome. On the other hand, each stage of growing up may give him new pleasures and zest in life, making him fearless, happy and confident of his abilities. As we have seen, for this purpose what he needs first and foremost, is love; he then needs to do all that he can do at his age, himself. In the words of Arnold Gesell, "The wise parent from the beginning builds fibre as well as happiness into the child's mind."²⁾ To aim at any one of the above two factors

1) Rabindranath Tagore in "Fruit-Gathering" p. 12.

2) "The Guidance of Mental Growth in Infant and Child." 1930.

alone, would defeat its own end. No child can hope to be happy if he is so much attached to his mother or is beset with so many conflicts that he reacts to any change in his environment, by "a shrinking kind of withdrawal and silence which foretells . . . a sense of inferiority that weakens the very corner stone of personality."¹⁾ On the other hand, his need for love is so urgent and insistent that unless he feels sure of his mother's affections, he cannot build up any sense of confidence in himself.

One of the values of the present thesis has been that we have been mostly dealing with pre-school children. 83 per cent of my subjects were below 7 years and 67 per cent were below 5. It has been shown that one can distinguish different behaviour-patterns among children very early in their lives and consequently training in "morale" should start from the cradle. The child's personality develops more rapidly in these pre-school days than we are likely to think. The child is forming attitudes and ways of adaptations which are the very foundations of his adult life and although they may get changed as he advances in life, yet they are bound to colour his whole subsequent development. "A child may not altogether mature even as an adult if he does not achieve a full measure of independence from his mother."²⁾ I have shown what far-reaching results early petting or strict discipline may have on the child's behaviour, and he is affected by fixations, transfers and other psychological

1) Ibid. pp. 170.

2) Ibid. pp. 159.

mechanisms also very early in life. The social development of the child can consequently be either retarded or fostered very early in his life.

Arnold Gesell has put this very clearly when he says, "the key to the mental hygiene of childhood lies in building up adequate self-reliance and independence. Even in infancy this principle must be regarded. Not only from the breast must the child be weaned. Slowly but progressively he must attain befitting fortitude and detachment. He cannot always play in his mother's lap; he must in time begin to play on the floor; he cannot always play in the same room with his mother, he must learn to play in an adjoining one, first for a few minutes, later for an hour at a time. If the mother must leave the house to hang up the clothes, he must be content to watch her through the window - even though it costs him a struggle. He must learn to go to bed alone, and later to school alone.

"These are very elementary lessons in self-reliance, but, psychologically, in spite of their seeming triviality, they involve the same stern stuff out of which mature morale is made. . . . nothing is quite so significant of the maturation of child's personality as the evidences of his self-reliance and of independence which bespeak of his growing morale. Normally these evidences go constantly increasing. Abnormally, there are partial or complete arrests which leave aspects of his personality stranded on some pre-school level."¹⁾ These are the qualities which would

1) "The Mental Growth of the pre-school Child." Pp. 227-230.

enable him to weather the severest storms of life with courage and fortitude and not be swept away by them when they are too rough for him. Nor would he, so equipped, be found lolling idly in fine weather when he should be seeing strange lands and new shores with the ship of his life going at full steam ahead.

Apart from showing love and inculcating habits of self-reliance and independence in a child, another very important factor which goes to build up the "fibre" of the child, is the company of his equals from his early childhood. They help him to be free from the apron-strings of his mother and take an interest in the outside world. He gives up his feelings of awe about the adults and feels a certain amount of confidence in himself. Every child to a more or less degree suffers from a feeling of inferiority and again it is his association with his friends, and the interests which he has in common with them by which his "fearful attitudes of inadequacy and of failure" are starved out. He thus does not suffer from those morbid inhibitions which make later contacts with his equals or adults most painful and trying. Rubbing shoulders with others from very early years, both on the playing field and school room, on the one hand, and the building up of wider interests and standing out at least in one of them, give that social ease to the child, which is so great an asset to one's personality.

The above discussion has made it clear that there are no new "social instincts" which appear as such ready made at any particular stage of development. In the chapter on hereditary

factors, it was mentioned how there was an inherent tendency in some people to be more forward or diffident in their temperament. Behind these temperaments are the various instincts and emotions. But these instincts as such, in themselves do not make a person more sociable than others. It might be argued by some people, that individuals possessing instincts like gregariousness or sympathy in a high degree, would be more sociable than others. But facts show that this is by no means true. People can be very gregarious, but unsocial. While gregariousness is no doubt at the foundation of sociability and sympathy can stimulate social cooperation, these habits are more complex and have to be cultivated. It has, however, been shown that the child has "a growing ability for social behaviour and a social point of view", but it all depends how far these are fostered by his environment.

Now I come to the subsequent development of children suffering from excessive shyness and allied conditions. It is, of course, essential that the factors responsible for the maladjustment of the child should first of all be removed, if we expect to cure the child. In cases where the child has been over-protected, care has to be taken that the withdrawal of protection is gradual and the child does not experience any feelings of frustration or deprivations. In the second place in cases where children have been deprived of company, this lack has to be made good as early as possible. But both these factors in themselves are not enough in all cases to guarantee the normal development of the child. The important thing is to find out the possibilities of

the child breaking his past habits of dependence and shrinking sensitiveness. On the one hand one cannot belittle the tremendous force of the already entrenched attitudes of mind and, on the other, there is in all organisms, in the words of Gesell, "the inborn tendency towards optimum development." While discussing the various causal factors, it was seen how the child's withdrawing behaviour continued long after the removal of the undesirable factors in the child's environment. Old habits have a most tenacious hold on one's mind and as we saw, even the most talented children found it difficult to get over their shyness. Bertrand Russell was also brought up in a rather dull and unstimulating environment. At the age of 3, he was left an orphan and was made a ward of the Court of chancery and was brought up by his grandmother. Instead of being sent to a school, he was taught by governesses and tutors. At the age of 18, he went into residence, "as a very shy undergraduate" at Trinity College, Cambridge. Lady Annabel Huth Jackson (nee Grand Duff) writing¹⁾ in a recent book about his childhood, ^{says} "Bertie, a solemn little boy in a blue velvet suit with an equally solemn governess was always kind But even as a child I realized what an unsuitable place it was for children to be brought up in. Lady Russell (grandmother) always spoke in hushed tones and Lady Agatha always wore a white shawl and looked down-trodden. Rollo Russel never spoke at all. He gave one a handshake that nearly broke all the bones of one's fingers, but was quite friendly.

1) "A Victorian Childhood" 1932. Pp. 62.

They all drifted in and out of the rooms like ghosts and no one ever seemed to be hungry. It was a curious bringing up for two (B.R. and his brother) young and extraordinarily gifted boys." Bertrand Russell is now recognised to be one of the most brilliant philosophers and scholars of modern times, but although in his writings and actions he has shown a remarkable originality, fearlessness and courage¹⁾, he is somewhat nervous and not quite at ease in society. At the age of 62, he is still reserved and would speak with his head lowered down.

Cases where the early inhibitory factors have not been of very great importance, e.g. that of Pauline (7:4) (I.Q. 123) among my subjects, great intelligence, as I have already shown, can to a certain extent aid the child to come out of his reserve.

Two factors are of further value in helping the child to make a better adaptation to his social environment. One is to avoid for some time at least, all those obstacles and difficulties in the way, which in the case of a child with no confidence, are likely only to make him more reserved in temperament. When actually faced with any difficulties and in all changes in his environment, such a child needs special encouragement and help to tide them over. A period of time free from all shocks and upsetting situations, would give him a much needed opportunity during which he could consolidate his personality and at the same time develop some interests to give him confidence in himself.

1) In 1918 he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for an article he had written in the "Tribunal". Earlier in the war, he had taken part in the No Conscription fellowship and was fined £100 as the author of a leaflet describing an early Christian conscientious objector.

This brings me to my second method by which the child could overcome his withdrawing habits. His special talents must be discovered and fostered for success in any one of them is bound to add something to his mental stature. Through dramatic performances, games, handicrafts and academic achievements, much could be done to inculcate better social habits. He should be encouraged to ^{invite}~~invite~~ ^{friends} and should be invited himself, to parties and the pleasure he derives in the company of his playmates would induce him to establish more contacts with them. But a shy child has to be introduced to all these factors very slowly and one by one. Otherwise, his failure to mix well with others will produce an uneasiness and pain which are likely only to stiffen him further in his reserve. How the fostering of these activities can prevent shyness is illustrated from the case of Jennie (11:0) one of the St. Trinnean's girls, included in the control-group.

There were three features in Jennie's life which could have made her a shy and quiet child. In the first place, in the words of mother, she was "inclined to be a little bit shy," implying thereby that she had an introvertive temperament. Even now, although Jennie does not hesitate or get agitated in front of visitors, she would not tell them all that she has to at once, and is not very bold before them. In the second place Jennie was "extraordinarily affectionate" and "her extremely kind disposition" had been her chief characteristic all along. This, coupled with the fact that she was the youngest child in a family

of 3, exposed her to the usual possibilities of getting petted and spoiled. In the third place, she was of rather small size, for her years. She measured 133 cms. or $52\frac{1}{2}$ inches¹⁾ at the age of 11 and was consequently likely to get dominated and bullied by other children and feel inferior to them. But Jennie is quite a normal child now and by careful up-bringing on the part of parents, she has been saved from being a shy child.



Jennie, in the role of a Daffodil Queen.

At the age of 3, she was in charge of an elderly kind-hearted nurse who, among other things, taught her swimming and showed her not to be afraid of dogs. At the age of $4\frac{1}{2}$, she was placed

1) According to Stratz, the average height among girls for this year is 142 cms. and according to John Thomson and Leonard Findlay it is 57 inches in this country among girls from well-to-do homes.

in a private preparatory school where there were just 20 children. After two years at this school, she was awarded a medal for being the best at gymnastics and dancing. In her last year there at the age of 8, she was chosen by the vote of the children to be "Captain"; all the older children were eligible. In the same year she was Dux of the whole school. While in this school, she also took part in a number of dramatic performances. Jennie's popularity at the school and her successes in studies and sports gave her a sense of confidence in herself which compensated for any feelings of inferiority that might have arisen from her being under-sized. Parents were afraid that these early successes might make her conceited and arrogant, but perhaps because of her affectionate nature, such results were avoided.

So far I have discussed the possibilities of combating the firmly entrenched habits of unsociability and similar conditions, by fostering a sense of confidence by means of changes in his environment. One is considerably helped in this endeavour by the natural urge in the child's mind itself for maturation - an idea popularized by Gesell. He has brought evidence from five different sources to show how in the mechanism of maturation, "Nature had provided a regulatory factor of safety against the

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- 1) These are (1) The development of prehension.
 (2) Developmental Correspondence in identical twins
 (3) The limitations of training.
 (4) The restricted influence of physical handicap.
 (5) Developmental progression in emotional
 behaviour.

All these evidences are discussed in Gesell's "The Guidance of Mental Growth in Infant and Child."

stress of extreme variations of environment.."¹⁾ All behaviour is the product of the interaction of hereditary and environmental factors, but to say this does not give that dynamic idea of growth which "itself is integrative and resolves the antithesis" between heredity and environment. "The environment provides the foil and milieu for the manifestations of development but these manifestations come from inner compulsion and are primarily organized by inherent inner mechanics and by intrinsic physiology of development."²⁾ A great deal has been written in this connection about the working of the genes. They are spread throughout the body in all the somatic cells and as biochemical agencies, they constantly participate in the complex physiology of both pre-natal and post-natal development. They must also be greatly responsible for individual differences of behaviour. Environment as such does not "generate progressions of development"; it can only "support, inflect and modify" development. There was one or other undesirable factor working against some of our control group children but in spite of it most of them were more or less normal. So also all our 60 shy children had not absolutely become victims of their bad environment. As Gesell says, "All things considered, the inevitableness and surety of maturation is the most impressive characteristic of early development. It is the hereditary ballast which conserves and stabilizes the growth of each individual infant." To this

1) Ibid. Pp. 276-277.

2) Ibid. Pp. 291.

extent our growth is already determined for were it not for it, the child's "mind, his spirit, his personality, would fall a ready prey to disease, to starvation, to malnutrition and worst of all, to misguided management."¹⁾

The idea of maturation would, therefore, mean that though environment and physical factors do affect the child's personality in some ways, that personality itself changes as a result of the child's own intrinsic impulsion and the later modifications in his environment. But such an inner change will take place only while the individual's organism is plastic, i.e. while he is still young. The general impression, however, that one got while discussing the subsequent development of our subjects, was that their unsocial attitudes had become too firmly established to be eradicated. This impression is quite correct, for it must be remembered that no deliberate endeavour had been made to cure them. Although the mechanism of maturation was always present in the child, it had to work against many odds. In many cases no steps had been taken to free the child from his physical and environmental disabilities; and where these had been removed, no positive measures had been undertaken to ease the process of maturation. There is no doubt that by being more demonstrative towards children starved in their affections, by fostering love between rival children, showing more sympathy to under-protected children, and gradual withdrawal of excessive love and by

1) Ibid. Pp. 298-299.

inculcating habits of self-reliance among over-protected children, by steps like these, the subsequent development of many shy children, could be made more or less normal. Maturation alone cannot perform miracles and the life-histories of such brilliant thinkers as Bertrand Russell show that even where the tempo of maturation is very rapid, one's personality can be thwarted by the warping influences of one's childhood.

In the case of an over-protected child, there is, of course, always somebody to whom the child is excessively attached. In the case of an under-protected child also, it was seen that in most cases he had in his distress attached himself to someone in his environment. This person, in both cases, holds the key to marring or making the child's future happiness. He might take advantage of the child's helplessness and continue to keep the child shy, dependent and unsocial. On the other hand, he could make use of the child's attachment to foster habits of self-reliance and sociability, and thus make a definite contribution to the child's health and happiness.

APPENDIX.

1)
WHY SHOULD YOU CARE?

CHAPTER I.

One cold day in February, a little girl lay crying in her bed. "I wish Mummy was not going to die ever," she said to herself. "I do not want to go to sleep till Mummy comes back. And I will tell her all about it, she always has such a loving way of saying things, specially when I am sad." (Her mummy was out at a dance.) She listened to the ticking of the clock on the table beside her bed. Her room was a little cosy one with a little window looking out on the pretty back garden. The moon was very bright that night and the stars seemed to be twinkling at her. She waited a long time but soon felt very sleepy. She did her best to keep awake but soon fell asleep with her pretty fair hair all about her pretty pink face.

CHAPTER II.

While she was sleeping, God sent an Angel to take the little girl up to heaven to tell her not to mind her mummy dying because she was not going to for a long time. So a pretty angel came and took her up to heaven, and on the way she walked on cool

1) Written by Rita (12:8), mentioned on pages 71, 120 and 121. No attempt has been made to correct any mistakes of composition or grammar in this story.

fresh misty clouds the air was lovely and cool too. (There follows a drawing of little girl and angel taking her to heaven). And pretty music like flowing water and foaming waves and everything lovely. And Angels singing lovely songs. She felt quite different than she had been when she was in her bed. Everything was lovely. When at last she came to a gate, and she knew it was at long last Heaven. And at once little Jesus came to meet her and took her by the hand and took her to God. And God said to her very kindly, "Sit down". There were lovely daffodils on the grass and crocuses too. And God spoke and said "Dear little Girl why do you think I gave you a mother?" And she said, "to look after me?" And God said "Do you think your mother would like to live for ever and never see heaven? And if she was dead do you not think I have done it because I thought she was sad or ill on earth and so I took her to heaven. And when she was better I give a new body but the same spirit. People cannot do with the same body the whole time. You have been on earth before. And the first time was at the beginning of the world. You had no cosy house or even a shelter you climbed up a tree at night. And looked for food at day time. And when you were old and wrinkled, I thought you would like a rest in heaven and a new body and while you were resting your friends had children and they grew up and got old they came to heaven and so on. And hundreds of years passed and I thought you would like to go to the earth again. And I chose a lady and man to be your mother and father. And they loved each other,

and their seed mixed just like a plant. And so you were born." "I did not know Mummy and Daddy made me," said the little girl. Then said God, "I will tell you more, when your mummy was grown up she married gladly your daddy and they lived together for a year. And then you began to want to come on to the earth again so first of all you were just a seed. And you grow and grow till you were ready to come out. And then you were just a baby and you only took milk, because you had no teeth to eat bread or hard things. And you could not walk at first and then you learnt to stand, and then walk a little then run, and then go to school and learn and when you leave school you go out to dances and nice places with your mummy. And then when she does die if she is healthy it is not till you are grown up, and have children of your own if you are married. So you do not mind so much. Of course you are sad at first but you grow used to it. And did not care much when you think she is really happy in heaven and will come back to the earth again, and begin all over again.

CHAPTER III.

Now said God I will tell you about how Jesus came to earth. People were not really wicked. They were just like little girls and boys. And did not understand. So I sent little Jesus to the earth as a little baby; he was born in a stable and three kings came to see the child Jesus and give him gifts, and some shepherds brought lambs to him. And one king wanted very much

to kill him so his daddy and mummy went into a far country and stayed there till the king was dead. And then came back to their own country. And Jesus grew to be a man and healed a lot of sick people and he loved little children and was very kind (upon) them and they loved him. But there were some men who did not like him and were very unkind to him although he didn't do them any harm. And so they killed him, but he came alive again and went and saw all the people who liked him. One day as he was talking to them an angel came and took him away up into heaven. And became a little child again and played in heaven with the Angels. And the people who have rests play with him. So the angel took her to the earth again.

CHAPTER IV.

One day the little girl sat in the garden watching a little pet rabbit and wondering if rabbits go to heaven too. She was very lonely in the garden, her mother was away she did not know why or where, and she did not even know when she was coming back. Ah but what joy there was mummy's sweet voice talking to daddy. And she heard daddy say is it a girl or boy. But oh said the little girl, was who a girl or boy. Run into the dining room mummy was not there she asked the maids where she was and they said in her bed. The poor little girl got a fright she remembered what God had said, she might be taken to rest in heaven till she was better. "I do hope she is not ill, and will not die"

she said to herself. Then she heard a little cry as she walked upstairs "I wonder what it can be she said, mummy is too big to cry unless she is dying. Perhaps she is, I'll look and see anyhow." She opened the door and to her joy she saw her mummy holding the sweetest baby you ever saw so that is why you were away mummy dear, she asked if she could sit at the end of the bed and tell her the lovely journey to heaven. Her mummy said "Yes Dear" so she did and when she had finished telling she asked if she could hold the baby.

CHAPTER V.

One night she had the most lovely dream, that she wanted to go to the other side of a horrid wood. And her mother was at the other side of the wood and so she sat down and cried because she did not want to go through the wood.